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ART. I.—*Reports of Cases argued and adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States.* By Henry Wheaton, Counsellor at Law.

THE value of the numerous publications which have lately appeared, digesting, expounding, or recording the principles of law, and the decisions of judicial tribunals, whether we consider the merits of the respective authors, or the importance of the subject, seems to entitle them to notice in literary journals. They are generally remarkable for great perspicuity of style, sound and acute sense, indefatigable research, and extensive erudition.

The naval victories achieved during the usurpation of Cromwell, and the reign of Charles II. which gave England her supremacy on the ocean, promoted in a less degree her strength and improvement, than did the passage of the navigation act and the abolition of all feudal tenures and exactions. The removal of the obstacles to the alienation of property, and the passage of the statute of wills [32 Henry 8th] conferred greater benefit on our ancestors, than all the glory acquired in the fields of Cressy and Agincourt; and the high rank which Great-Britain now possesses, as a powerful and enlightened nation, may be principally attributed to the pure administration of her laws.

It is, therefore, the essential interest of a free people to watch over every act of internal legislation, and every judgment of their judicial tribunals, and these considerations derive additional force in this country from the peculiar structure of our political institutions. Many of the questions presented to the courts of the U. States involve an examination of the principles of the constitution and of national law. To the judiciary is entrusted the important duty of guarding the charters of our liberty against all encroachments by the legislative departments. This power is the necessary consequence of the oath imposed on judges, and of the principle that the constitution is the fundamental law of the land. It is a power, however, which has been sometimes disputed—but its frequent exercise has so universally met the approbation of the people, and frequent occurrences have rendered the necessity of

its existence so apparent, that faction alone can now dissent to the salutary doctrine. The judiciary department may, therefore, be considered in our republic, as holding the place of the tribunitial power in the Roman commonwealth—possessing all the advantages of the latter; and at the same time, from the nature of its duties and limitations, exercising its authority with such a degree of moderation and impartiality, as the tribunes, from the injudicious organization of their power, were incapable of. Without the hazard of contradiction, we may boldly assert, that in no country has the judiciary been, hitherto, more respected, or its decrees more readily obeyed, than in our own. We shall have occasion, in the course of our remarks, to notice the very delicate situations in which the supreme court of the United States has frequently been placed, by the decisions of questions which brought it in collision with state authorities, and with other departments of the general government; and there is none who will not laud the dignity and independence with which it asserted its rights, and discharged its duties, on those trying occasions.

Much of the reluctance of foreign reviewers, to introduce works on municipal law into the walks of science and literature, may be attributed to the barbarous style in which its doctrines were long involved. The classical student, who was compelled by necessity, to exchange the society of Pope, Shakspeare, and Milton, for the austere sages of the common law, might justly complain, during the last century, in the poetical language used by Blackstone, in his farewell to the muse—

‘ Instead of these, a formal band
In furs and coifs around me stand,
With sounds uncouth, and accents dry,
That grate the soul of harmony;
Each pedant sage unlocks his store
Of mystic, dark, discordant lore,
And points with tott’ring hand the ways
That lead me to the thorny maze.’

But these charges are no longer applicable. Sixty years ago the student was compelled to wade through the Year-books, Rolle, Brooke, and Fitzherbert, to acquire the commonest principles of this law. Even the useful learning contained in the immethodical labours of Coke, could not console him for the disgust which his taste was destined to experience from his rude phraseology. But for the last one hundred years, a constant and gradual improvement has taken place in the language and style of legal publications, and in the arrangement of the matter. There is, perhaps, no subject on which more treatises, marked with talent, industry, and learning, have been published of late, than on the various heads of the law. Among these works, we may place in the first rank, Blackstone’s Commentaries,—and from the 500 volumes to which we allude in the above remark, may be selected the treatises of Fearne, Todd, Chitty, Newland, and Roberts.

This emancipation of the law, from the thralldom of tasteless barbarism, must, in some measure, be attributed to the great improvement that has taken place within the same period, not only in our language, but in our habits of thought—an improvement which is easily perceptible by a comparison of the compositions of the present age with those of the past. But we must look to other causes for this improvement, as the progress in refinement of law writers did not keep pace with that of other authors. The principal step which produced the change, was the statute of 4th Geo. II, passed in 1731, which required the records of the court to be kept in the English language. From the year 1363 until that time, the records of the court were drafted in the Latin language, if that jargon could be called Latin, which the common-law lawyers had adopted in their pleadings. Before that year, the same records were required to be kept in the Norman language—one of those badges of servitude which the Norman conquerors had imposed on England. While the science of the law was thus involved in bad French or bad Latin, it is not wonderful that the English of the lawyers should partake of the same base and barbarous character.

Important and beneficial as were the acts of 4 and 6 Geo. II, they were not received, it would seem, with much favor by the profession. We were not a little amazed by the perusal of the following passage, from the preface to the eleventh edition of Jacob's compilation of 'Every Man His Own Lawyer.' 'We have reason to believe (says the editor) that the original edition came out soon after the legislature was pleased to command all law proceedings to be in English: the precedents therefore, of writs, declarations and deeds, whether we consider them, as some of the first attempts of *professional—nay, national disgrace*; or, of their having been continued without any variation, equally serve in apology for our presuming to strike them all out in the present edition.' To this sapient and perspicuous remark, is added the following note: 'The abrogating the court hand in which the judicial records of this country were engrossed, may be added to that *disgraceful æra*, 4 Geo. II, (the year wherein the bill for translating the *Latin proceedings into English*, or as the event justifies the turning them into nonsense, passed into law,) nothing in my most humble apprehension can well exceed the absurdity of those who wished to be considered rational beings, much more to the members of the legislature than their reason for adopting the legal innovation alluded to, viz. that the generality of mankind might be able to read the instruments by which their lives, their liberties, and their properties were disposed of: for I do not believe there is a single individual to be found in that country, which is so materially affected by the above innovation, as not to acknowledge, and few, very few, who could not foresee (and that too without Scottish prescience) that neither the lawyer, nor the man of learning, would thereafter be able to explain such instruments to the

ignorant and uninformed.' From such advocates of black letter, and law jargon, it could not be expected that any ray of taste or genius should ever beam. These complaints furnish a striking instance of the opposition which every improvement (however innocent and laudable) is destined to meet with from the dread of innovation.

To the benefit resulting from this act, we may add two other causes, for the improvement made in the science of the law, and the taste of its professors during the last century. 1st. The increase of the commercial transactions of England during that period, and 2d. The appearance about the year 1733, and the subsequent success and authority of lord Mansfield, at the English bar.

1. Before the eighteenth century, the amount of personal property bore no proportion to that of real property in England; accordingly, the actions depending in courts of justice, for the most part related to the latter. The law of real property became, therefore, infected with the technical jargon, the trifling subtilties, the Gothic taste, which the Norman lawyers introduced, and which the Aristotelian philosophy made the fashion of the dark ages: evils which the progressive refinement of modern days has not yet been able entirely to remove. The law of personal property, being little used, escaped the general infection—and when the increasing commerce of the world gave it importance, it became necessary to mould it entirely anew from the few principles which had been previously promulgated. In applying these principles, it was often necessary to study and refer to the purer writers of civil and natural law. This association tended to liberalize the minds of the professors; and the consequence may be discovered by comparing the commentaries of Coke, or the treatises of Fearne and Runninton, with the work of Marshall on Insurance, or Chitty on Bills of Exchange,—the former, unintelligible to common readers; the latter, adapted to the meanest capacity.

2. About the period when this new order of things arose, lord Mansfield brought with him into the practice of the legal profession, a mind enriched with the stores of general literature, a taste polished by constant converse with the muses, and an eloquence founded on the chastest models of antiquity. His powers of captivation are recorded by Pope, who was both his admirer and friend. In his imitation of Horace's Ode to Venus, we find the following lines—

‘To number five direct your doves,
There spread round Murray all your blooming loves,
Noble and young, who strikes the heart
With every sprightly, every decent part;
Equal, the injured to defend,
To charm the mistress, or to fix the friend.’

His unexampled success in the profession, (for he was heard to say that he scarcely knew an interval between the want of employ-

ment and the receipt of 3000*l.* sterling per annum) induced others to follow his example. The emulation in taste and eloquence which was thus inspired, continued during the whole period when he presided as chief justice of England. The learning and eloquence of Dunning, Thurlow, Erskine, and Law, received their first impulse during that memorable period. Numerous incongruities of former authorities were reconciled or exploded; the Law Merchant was reared to its present state of symmetry and perfection; and classical taste was naturalized in the forum. The student of the present days, in passing from Strange or Raymond to Burrow, finds himself suddenly transported from a wilderness to a more fertile and cultivated region. The letters of Junius, and the declamations of Chatham, have cast a shade over the reputation of lord Mansfield; but we know not what profession is more indebted to any of its votaries, than the profession of the law, to that able and distinguished jurist.

The increase in the number, and improvements in the qualifications of the members of our bar, have kept pace with the general progress of the United States, in wealth, glory, and population. As early as the year 1775, Mr. Burke observed, 'that in no country, perhaps in the world, was the law so general a study: that all who read (and most could read), endeavoured to obtain some smattering in that science; and that, after tracts on popular devotion, the principal part of the books exported to the plantations, were those on the law.' It is not exaggeration to say, that at least ten thousand persons in the United States derive their subsistence from the practice of the law, and we may likewise add, that those who practise that profession, are not one third of the number of those who have been qualified to practise, but who afterwards deserted it. We may also boast of the many legal publications which have issued during the last five and twenty years from our press. If we are not mistaken, Dallas's Reports were the first which were published in this country. They were honoured with the commendation of lord Mansfield; who, when blind, had them read to him by an amanuensis. The reports of Washington, in Virginia, and Bay in South Carolina, soon followed—and so many works of this description have of late been published in almost every state in the Union, that the number of American reports now exceed 150 volumes. They all reflect credit, in various degrees, upon the learning and talents of the judges—the acuteness and ingenuity of the barristers, and the accuracy and elegance of the reporters.

The volumes which form the subject of the present article, are the reports of the decisions of the supreme court of the United States, in the years 1816, 1817, and 1818. They continue the series of Dallas and Cranch's Reports. The present reporter of that court, was named to that duty by the judges in 1816; and shortly after, an act was passed by Congress, giving him an annual salary for his services, on certain specified conditions. Of the utility of such an office, it might be expected, that no doubt could be entertained;

but it seems that though the special office of a reporter existed at an early period of English history, it was discontinued as long ago as the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. It was again revived in the reign of James I, by the influence of lord Bacon, but was soon afterwards abolished from some cause which cannot now be satisfactorily accounted for; probably from want of talents or industry in the reporter—the jealousy with which lord Bacon was regarded by his numerous rivals, or the ambition of lord Coke to supersede, by his labours, the necessity of such an officer. The reports which have been transmitted from the reign of Henry VII, are, therefore, the result of the voluntary industry of able judges or lawyers, whom a predilection for the profession, and emulation to excel in it, induced to record the judgments of the courts. But the necessity of such a responsible officer as reporter, is apparent, from the act of parliament which was passed soon after the restoration, prohibiting the printing of law books, without the license of the lord chancellor, the two chief justices, and the chief baron. This act was renewed from time to time, but finally expired in the reign of William and Mary. Permission, however, from the judges, seems long after to have been deemed necessary for printing reports of adjudged cases, as we find certificates to that effect prefixed to the reports of Strange, Raymond, Salkeld, and other succeeding reporters, and this permission was required, if we may judge from the style of the certificates, not so much to give credit and authenticity to the reports, as protection and authority for the publication, from the jealousy which the courts of common law formerly entertained respecting the publication of their proceedings. The necessity of such certificates has long ceased, but it is the natural consequence of this general privilege to publish reports, that the publications are more or less entitled to credit, in proportion to the diligence and accuracy of the reporter. Many instances of errors may be found throughout the English reports, and judges are frequently compelled to doubt or deny that they used the expressions attributed to them in the reports of preceding cases. When to the doubt and confusion which this state of things is calculated to produce, is added the liability to error from the *viva voce* delivery of decisions, we may form somewhat of a correct opinion how irregular and unsatisfactory is the English mode of promulgating legal decisions.

The evils which we have just enumerated, have been entirely avoided in the United States, by the official station of the reporter, and the practice adopted by the judges of the supreme court to deliver only written decisions. When they agree in opinion, only one decision is pronounced—and it is only when there is a difference of sentiment on the point in issue, or the grounds of the judgment, that opinions seriatim, are expressed. In England, however, the judges in all cases, deliver severally their private opinions—another fertile source of dispute and confusion.

The talents and learning of the judges, of which these volumes afford abundant proofs, give them an additional claim to the regard of the profession. In no branch of the government have the appointments to office been actuated by a greater attention to the merit of the individual selected. Little or no intrigue, or personal partiality has mingled in the judicial appointments of our country. The judges, previous to their elevation, held a high rank in their profession, for talents and integrity; and though the rule is not sound, that the best advocate will make the best judge, it may generally be collected, that the lawyers whose exhibitions at the bar are distinguished for profound learning and accuracy of thought, will honour the bench on which they hold a seat. To excel at the bar, quickness of perception, ready elocution, and a fund of ingenuity is required. But the qualities required in a judge, are judgment, learning, and temper. Where these qualities are wanting, the advocate, however able, is unqualified for the bench. Few men have been more successful at the bar, as advocates, than Erskine and Curran, but the first did not give satisfaction as chancellor, nor the latter as master of the rolls.

Of the legal erudition of the judges of the supreme court, the cases of the town of Pawlet vs. Clark and others, 9 Cr. 292; Coollige and Payson, 2. Whe. 66; Craig vs. Leslie, 3d Wheaton, p. 576. bear incontestable proof.

Of the soundness of their judgment, we could cite numerous instances, but it gives us pleasure to refer more particularly to the firmness and independence with which the court has discharged its duty, when brought into conflict with state authorities, and with other departments of the general government. Three noted instances have occurred.—The case of *Olmstead vs. the executors of Rittenhouse*; the case of *Martin vs. Hunter's lessee*, and the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*. In the first case, the legislature of Pennsylvania interposed, by a law, to prevent the execution of a decree passed by judge Peters, in the district court of that state, and required that the money for which the suit was brought, should be paid into the state treasury, and that the governor should protect the rights of the state, and the persons and properties of the defendants from any process whatever, issued out of any federal court. After the passage of this act, the district judge, on an application being made for process of execution, with a very commendable degree of prudence, declined ordering it, with the view to bring before the supreme court of the United States, a question so delicate in itself, and which was likely to produce the most serious consequence to the nation. Upon the application of the plaintiff, the supreme court issued a mandamus to the judge of the district court, commanding him to execute the sentence pronounced by him in that case, or to show cause to the contrary. The reasons for withholding the process, assigned in answer to this writ, were not deemed sufficient by the court. 'If the legislatures of the several states,' says the court, in their opinion delivered by chief

justice Marshal, 'may, at will, annul the judgment of the courts of the United States, and destroy the rights acquired under those judgments, the constitution itself becomes a solemn mockery, and the nation is deprived of the means of enforcing its laws by the instrumentality of its own tribunals. So fatal a result must be deprecated by all; and the people of Pennsylvania, no less than the citizens of every other state, must feel a deep interest in resisting principles so destructive of the union, and in averting consequences so fatal to themselves.' 'It will be readily conceived, that the order which this court is enjoined to make, by the high obligations of duty and of law, is not made without extreme regret at the necessity which has induced the application. *But it is a solemn duty, and therefore must be performed. A peremptory mandamus must be awarded.*' Process of execution was accordingly awarded by the district judge, in obedience to the mandamus—and the governor of Pennsylvania immediately ordered general Bright, commanding a brigade of Pennsylvania militia, to call out a portion of the militia, and employ them to protect and defend the persons and property of the defendants against the process. These orders were obeyed,—a guard was placed round the house of the defendants, who opposed with arms in their hands, the persevering efforts of the marshal to serve the writs.—But the execution was at last served by the marshal, who eluded the guard, on one of the defendants, and an application for a habeas corpus refused. The debt was finally discharged, and to make the triumph of the law complete, the general and his guard were indicted for obstructing the process of the court, found guilty, and received the sentence of the law. In the charge delivered by judge Washington to the jury, we meet with the following proof of animated eloquence and dignified feeling. 'It seems, however, that the power of deciding on all cases arising under the constitution and laws of the United States, is considered as being unsafely lodged in the national courts; because it may be abused for the purpose of drawing every case into the vortex of the federal jurisdiction. Whence can arise this jealousy? Have the judges of those courts, or of any courts, an interest in extending the sphere of their jurisdiction? Quite otherwise—as the jurisdiction of the court is abridged, the labour of the judge is diminished. Is it a privilege which is claimed for the advantage of the court, or of the individuals who compose it? By no means. It is the privilege of the citizen, and as long as I have the honour of a seat on the bench, I will consider myself one of the guardians of this privilege, (a very feeble one I acknowledge) and with a steady and unvarying eye, fixed upon the constitution, as my guide, I shall march forward without entertaining the guilty wish to limit this privilege, where the citizen may fairly claim it, or the desire not less criminal, to enlarge its boundaries because it is claimed.'

The second case to which we have referred, as exhibiting the firmness and independence of the supreme court, is that of Mar-

tin Delusee, of *Fairfax vs. Hunter*, 1 Wheaton, 304. The suit was originally brought in the state court of Virginia, holden at Winchester, for the recovery of a tract of land in the Northern Neck. Judgment was given for the defendant in that court, and on an appeal to the highest court of appeals, the court of law of Virginia, the judgment of the district court was reversed, and judgment entered for the plaintiff. As the construction of the treaty of peace, concluded in the year 1783, and the treaty of 1794, between Great Britain and the United States, was involved in the decision, the defendant, in the original suit, appealed to the supreme court of the United States, which reversed the judgment of the court of appeals in Virginia, and issued its mandate to the latter court, to carry its judgment into execution. The court of appeals of Virginia, rendered the following judgment on this mandate. 'The court is unanimously of opinion, that the appellate power of the supreme court of the United States, does not extend to this court, under a sound construction of the United States; that so much of the 25th section of the act of Congress, to establish the judicial courts of the United States, as extends the appellate jurisdiction of the supreme court to this court, is not in pursuance of the constitution of the United States: that the writ of error in this cause, was improvidently allowed under the authority of that act: that the proceedings thereon in the supreme court were *coram non judice*, in relation to this court, and that obedience to its mandate be declined by this court.'

On this disobedience of the mandate of the supreme court, the cause was again brought before that court. It was a direct conflict between the jurisdiction of the state, and United States' courts. The question was elaborately argued, and we doubt whether the whole records of jurisprudence exhibit a more clear, elegant and conclusive strain of reasoning, than the opinion of the supreme court, delivered by judge Story. It asserted the jurisdiction of the supreme court over the case, and as the state courts refused to carry the former mandate into effect, the execution was immediately awarded.

In the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*, which was an application for a mandamus against the defendant, who was secretary of state, founded on a complaint, that a commission, appointing the plaintiff a justice of the peace, had been illegally withheld from him by the defendant, under the orders of the president of the United States—the supreme court decided, that when a commission for an officer, not holding his office at the will of the president, is by him signed and transmitted to the secretary of state, to be sealed and recorded, it is irrevocable—the appointment is complete—and that the president cannot authorise a secretary of state to omit the performance of those duties which are enjoined by law. The application was, however, discharged on the ground that the supreme court had not the power to issue a mandamus, it being an exercise of original jurisdiction, not warranted by the constitution—and that

Congress had not the power to give original jurisdiction to the supreme court in other cases than those described in the constitution. In this instance, the same care is exhibited by this tribunal, not to pass those very barriers in relation to their own jurisdiction, which it was their duty to make other departments respect. The opinion of the supreme court, delivered in this case, by chief justice Marshall, is an admirable specimen of logical analysis, and power of ratiocination. We might multiply proofs of the independence exhibited by the national judiciary—and cite the case of the release of the *Exchange*, a vessel under the flag of the emperor Napoleon, which had been seized and condemned under some of his arbitrary orders, and was libelled by its American owners in the district court of Pennsylvania—we might also cite the case of the *Nereide*, to prove, how little national feeling sways the judgment of the court. But the volumes reporting the decisions of the supreme court abound with evidence of judicial integrity; and in fact, we may venture to predict, that the decisions on admiralty law (exceptionable as are the decisions of the courts of all other nations on this point, from their subserviency to the policy of their respective governments), will be hereafter appealed to as criterions of belligerent rights and commercial rectitude.

The reports of cases decided by a court, holding so high and independent a rank, elevated far above all temporary, selfish, and political considerations, deserve the peculiar regard of the legal profession, not only in this, but likewise in foreign countries. We do not, therefore, hesitate to recommend the three volumes of *Wheaton's Reports*, to the attention both of the lawyer and the statesman. In the discharge of his duties, the reporter has displayed a degree of attention and diligence, that furnishes a pledge that he does not design his office as a sinecure. His reports have been invariably given to the public, within a few months after the delivery of the decisions, in time to gratify the interest they excited, and to regulate the practice to which they related. The statement of the facts, on which the various cases turned, is full and perspicuous,—and the arguments of the counsel, when necessary to be reported, present with accuracy and justice, the positions on which they respectively relied. In one respect, we would recommend to Mr. Wheaton, a change in his mode of reporting the arguments of the counsel, viz. not to insert in a note, as is generally done in these volumes, the authorities that are cited, but to embody the citations in the argument itself. It is true, that from the course he has pursued, to add a note containing a full view of the law relating to the reported case, the necessity of these citations is very much superseded—and there is no professional lawyer who will not agree with us that these notes are valuable accessions to legal learning. They are not mere references to adjudged cases, but they exhibit an elaborate survey of the whole law on the subject, not only as it exists in our own country, but also in foreign systems of jurisprudence. In questions on commer-

cial and admiralty law, which profess to have for their foundation the dictates of reason and justice, a knowledge of the rules and principles which would govern in foreign courts, is indispensably necessary. In fact, in every head of the law, such knowledge is useful, for the observation of Cicero, '*Etenim omnes artes quæ ad humanitatem pertinent habent quoddam commune vinculum et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur*,' has direct application to the various codes of all nations, as all laws profess to have for their object and end, the happiness and welfare of mankind. We, therefore, commend Mr. Wheaton's laudable attempts to introduce to us the productions of foreign jurists, and view with pleasure his frequent quotations from Pothier, Valin, Huberus, and the French codes. It is a branch of learning that has hitherto been too much neglected amongst us, and the study of it will be conducive to improvements in our internal legislation.

Of the notes attached to the reports, we find two, deserving of notice, in the appendix to the first volume,—the first on the practice of prize courts; the second, on the rule of war of 1756. In the appendix to the second volume, there is a still more valuable and elaborate note on the principles and practice of prize courts. This branch of the law was little familiar to our lawyers at the commencement of the late war. It has been particularly studied by Mr. Wheaton; and his notes, together with his essay on maritime captures, would, of themselves, be sufficient to instruct the lawyer in its principles. In the second volume, there are also several valuable notes appended to the reported cases; for instance, to the case of *Craig and Duval*, p. 62, a note on the construction of covenants in deeds for real property, and the damages recoverable upon a breach of them—and to the case of *Morgan's heirs vs. Morgan*, p. 302, a note showing on what grounds, and in what instances, courts of equity will compel the specific performance of contracts. In the third volume, the note to the case of the *Star*, p. 93, presents an admirable view of the rules respecting salvage, adopted in this as well as foreign nations; the note to the case of *Lanusse vs. Barker*, p. 143, contains an equally excellent exposition of the law on contracts of guaranty, and the obligations existing between a creditor and a surety. In a note in page 196, there is a correct, though summary view taken of the law of blockade,—and in page 207, of the effect of licenses from the enemy, or to trade with an enemy in time of war. There is also a valuable note in the appendix to the volume on the patent laws.

From the survey we have thus taken of these volumes, the reader may judge of the industry, learning, and talents of the reporter, and the value of his labours. We hope he may receive a better reward from public encouragement than those who have hitherto laboured in the same vocation. The next volume of his reports we anxiously look for, from the number of important and interesting decisions that were pronounced during the last term of the supreme court. The judgment in the case of the bank of the United

States, and on the insolvent laws of the various states, will further evince the extensive power and useful influence of the national judiciary, in regulating the operation of the state and general governments under the federal constitution.

For our part we avow our partiality for the judiciary, over every other department of our government. Possessed of no weight of patronage, clothed with no trappings of state or wealth, its tranquil, prudent, and majestic march in the discharge of its duties, has commanded the reverence and affection of the nation. There was a time, when demagogues in our legislative halls, conceived that they possessed exclusive power of deciding upon the binding force of the laws they passed, and that the supervision claimed by the judiciary, when their acts came before it for enforcement, was an usurpation. But those days, thank God, are passed; the judiciary is no longer regarded with jealousy,—and we may safely repose on its wisdom and fidelity, as the guardian of our rights, and the protector of our blessed constitution.

ART. II.—*On the means of Education and the Scientific Institutions in New York.*

ONE of the best modes of ascertaining the moral character of a people, is by an inquiry into the means of public and professional education, which are provided for its youth.—With this view, we think the following account of the advantages the city of New York enjoys in this respect, will not be unacceptable to our readers; and may, perhaps, call forth information of the same kind from the other cities of the union.

That part of the community, whose advancement in learning is necessarily very limited from their poverty, and the imperious necessity of turning their hands at an early age to labour, in order to procure the means of subsistence, has been by the munificence of the state, and city, and of the congregations of the several churches, furnished with the means of acquiring knowledge suited to their capacities, in institutions principally modelled on the systems of Lancaster and Bell;—among these it is only necessary to mention the great Lancaster school, where several hundred children are gratuitously instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

It is much to be regretted, that there does not exist in the city of New York, any public school for the instruction of the middling and higher classes of society, where by a well directed public patronage, the means of elementary education might be opened to the children of the industrious and saving, and yet the instruction so well conducted as to prepare for a collegiate course, or for the counting-house;—such a school has been several times contemplated, but has never yet been put into execution.—Its place is filled by a number of private schools, very different in plan, and various in merit, but on the whole of respectability, although, not of a quality to place New York in this respect on a level with Geneva or Edinburgh.

The only college in the city of New York, is one founded by royal charter in the year 1754, and then styled 'KING'S COLLEGE.' It had all the privileges and immunities granted to it, which were enjoyed by Trinity college, Cambridge. To found it, a handsome subscription was made up in the province of New York, and some valuable gifts were procured in England; Trinity church granted eight acres of land; but its chief benefactor was Joseph Murray, a distinguished lawyer of that period, who presented a valuable library, and an estate worth 8000*l.* currency.

The government was vested in a board of rectors, partly gentlemen of respectability in the province, and partly of persons holding high official situations. Among the latter we find the primate of the English church, the president of the board of trade and plantations, the governor, lieutenant governor, and secretary of state of the province, the president of the council, and the speaker of the house of assembly, the colonial treasurer, the mayor of the city, and the pastors of the five prevailing religious sects. Among the former, are many names of eminence in the colony, and famous in the subsequent revolutionary struggle.

We need only mention the De Lancys, the Livingstons, the Crugers, the Phillipses, the Waltons, the Apthorps, and the Morris, with the noble names of Kennedy and the earl of Sterling, to show the respectability of this board.—Under their auspices, a building intended as a wing of the entire plan was erected, and the course of instruction commenced under able and active teachers. The first president was the Rev. Dr. S. Johnson, to whom succeeded the Rev. Myles Cooper of Queen's college, Oxford, of whom it may be fairly said, that he was probably, the most elegant scholar that America ever saw. His political prejudices, led him to take an active part in the contest of that eventful era, and he was deeply engaged in a newspaper controversy, in which, as was afterwards known, his most successful opponents were his own pupils. Under the guidance of these two eminent men, were formed minds and characters, which have since filled a great share in the annals of the world. The party feelings of Dr. Cooper must have been severely hurt with the idea of having trained up to the combat, such men as John Jay, the chancellor Livingston, Gouverneur Morris, and Alexander Hamilton.*

The breaking out of the revolution, and its consequences, inflicted a blow upon the college from which it has hardly yet recovered. Dr. Cooper judged it prudent to fly, from the resentment his active conduct, as a partizan, seemed likely to draw upon him, as soon as hostilities commenced. In April, 1776, the college was taken possession of by order of the committee of public safety, as a military hospital.—Parts of the library and apparatus, were packed and deposited in the city hall, other parts in a room in the

* The breaking out of hostilities, prevented general Hamilton from completing his collegiate course.

steeple of St. Paul's church, from which they were not recovered for thirty years; and much appears to have remained for the pillage of a soldiery, who had not yet acquired any habits of discipline. The occupation of New York by the royal troops, did not mend its situation, and for eight years, the voice of science was silent in those halls, which were erected as its shrine.

When the war terminated, the literature of the state speedily became an object of legislative attention, and the government of all the seminaries of the state, was vested in a body styled the Regents of the University, in whose hands the affairs of the college, the name of which was changed from King's to Columbia college, remained till April, 1787. At this era, it was committed to the care of a board of twenty-four trustees, under whose management it has ever since continued. The peace found it in a most deplorable condition; little remained of the buildings but the bare walls, the library was much injured, and the philosophical apparatus totally destroyed, the monied estate of the institution dissipated, or barely sufficient for the needful repairs. The state legislature, who at that time were well disposed towards it, had but little in their power. In this state of things, recourse was had with most improvident haste to meet the urgencies of the moment, by the disposal on long leases, of the real estate granted by the church, and thus a scanty revenue was procured for immediate purposes, at the desperate cost of locking up its capital for nearly two generations. This income was at one time so small, as with the fees of tuition, to be barely adequate to the support of two professors for the undergraduate course. The countenance of the legislature was totally withdrawn, when Albany became its seat, and resources derived for the greatest part from the city of New York, were most unjustly bestowed upon an institution too distant to give the inhabitants of that city, a chance of reaping any benefit from it. The acknowledgment of the right of the people of Vermont, to the grants of land now included in that state, stripped the college of property, which, although forcibly withheld from their occupation, might have produced in the way of compromise, at least half a million of dollars.

Even in these times, the character of the college was ably supported by Dr. W. S. Johnson, the first president after the revolution, (and son of Dr. S. Johnson, its former president) who for many years, was actively employed in its public instruction, and derived lustre from the high reputation of the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Moore, bishop of New York, who held the office of president from 1801 till 1811. The distinguished talents of Dr. Kemp, who held the professorship of natural philosophy and mathematics for twenty-eight years, made it the first school for these sciences, in the United States; and its classical reputation has been ably supported by the learning of Dr. Wilson.

In 1811, the Rev. John M. Mason, was appointed provost, and the higher order of classical learning committed to his charge.—

The fees of the students were increased, and paid into the treasury of the college, from which the officers derived an income no longer precarious. The requisites for admission, were raised to a much higher level, and measures taken to prevent the honours of the college being conferred unworthily.

From circumstances arising out of the health of Dr. Mason, and his various other occupations, his appointment, and the alteration in the requisites and course of study was not attended with the immediate benefit that was expected; but the mode of reading the classics, introduced by him, in which the illustrations of his fine taste were added to the correct grammatical method of Dr. Wilson, is still continued, and though he has resigned his office, the institution still feels the pressure of his powerful spirit.

On the resignation of Dr. Mason, the active duties of the chief officer merged in Dr. Harris, who succeeded bishop Moore as president: of this gentleman it can truly be said, that he is, without exception, the most useful officer, who has ever presided over Columbia college. From his active zeal, and various concurring circumstances, it is now a flourishing institution. A new professorship has been founded, and with the other three, is fully supported by the tuition fees. The income of the property has been much increased by the falling in of some of the older leases. The state government have given an earnest of patronage by the gift of twenty acres of valuable land on the island of New York, and very lately of ten thousand dollars. New and extensive buildings are erecting, and the old ones have undergone a complete repair. The library and philosophical apparatus will probably attract the attention of the board, as soon as apartments shall be provided for them, and the course of instruction already excellent, will be increased as the increasing number of students provides the means.

The languages are taught by professors Wilson and Moore with much ability, professor Arrain is a most accomplished teacher of the mathematics, but in natural philosophy, from the peculiar bent of his mind, to the pure mathematics, he has not been so successful.—Professor Mc Vickar has in the short period of his appointment, given earnest of his future services in the branches of moral philosophy and the belles lettres; while the study of English composition is most sedulously attended to by the president.

The college numbers professors Mc Vickar and Moore among its alumni, and the excellence of its instruction may be judged from the fact that another of its alumni competed for the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy against Dr. Arrain, and now fills the mathematical professorship at Princetown, with honour to himself and his alma-mater. Among its alumni, may also be counted very many of the distinguished characters in the three learned professions in the city of New York and its neighbourhood, and others who have filled honourable stations under the state and general governments, and the governors of the state of

New York, except Henry Clinton, whose education was at an end before the foundation of this college.

This list might have been longer, had not other causes conjoined with its scanty funds and the want of legislative provision to narrow the sphere of its utility. The condition of the gift from Trinity church, that its president shall always be an Episcopalian, has given rise to the idea, that an improper influence might be exercised over the minds of the students. To prove how unfounded this fancy is, it is only necessary to remark, that calvinists have often formed the majority of the professors and of the board of trustees, and that the religious duties are limited to prayers, partly selected from the Episcopal liturgy, and partly original, combined with the reading of the scriptures without comment. The population of the city of New York, consists in a great measure of foreigners or of emigrants from the neighbouring states, most of whom have brought with them prejudices in favour of their native institutions, or against the system adopted at Columbia in imitation of the Scotch colleges, of permitting the students to reside at the houses of their parents or in private lodgings, instead of confining them within the walls of the college. Added to this, the religious dispensations, which long engrossed the whole attention of the board of trustees, to the exclusion of all exertions of a more meritorious nature.—The commercial habits of the people of New York, have not given room for any great private encouragement of science, and the whole period since the revolution, has passed without recording any private benefaction. It may perhaps, be also said, that the number of persons concerned in the management is against strong united efforts, and likely to promote lukewarmness or opposition to even the best concerted schemes. The number of students is at present one hundred and thirty, and on the increase.

Education does not cease with the collegiate course; in it we only acquire the rudiments of that knowledge which it is often the whole business of a busy life to develop. Our object will not, therefore, be complete, without an examination of the means for professional education, an account of the public libraries, the learned societies, and the state and progress of the fine arts. Under the same idea, it is at present projected to form an institution for the delivery of lectures upon subjects which cannot be made part of an undergraduate course, but which form such a part of the information which is expected from a well educated man, as to be indispensable to that character. It has been proposed to add this as a separate faculty to Columbia college; the plan is yet in embryo, but is well calculated to improve the moral character of the citizens of New York. The subjects which have been already named as fit for this purpose, are national and commercial law, political economy, chemistry applied to the arts, mechanics as applied to manufactures and other useful purposes, criticism, general literature, and poetry, with other instructive and popular topics.

Leaving this, let us proceed to the other objects we have named above.

The study of law in the state of New York, is entirely conducted in the offices of private attornies and counsellors, and no attempt has been made to make it a matter of public instruction, since the time of the lectures delivered in Columbia college by the present chancellor Kent. The license of attorney is made the step to the degree of counsellor. It is a matter of doubt, whether the entire separation of the two employments, and the establishment of a public law school, authorised to confer at once the degree of counsellor, would not raise the character of the profession.

The bar is at present very strong, and numbers of young men are rapidly rising to bear a distinguished part in its forensic discussions.

The Episcopal church, has lately founded in New York, a theological school, which from the talents of the professors who have been named to it, bids fair to rise to eminence. It has received a most splendid donation in land from an individual, of great public spirit and high private worth.

The Scotch Presbyterians, have long had a school for the education of ministers of their peculiar tenets, and it has not been less remarkable for the learning and abilities of its conductors, than for the number of intelligent and learned divines it has furnished to that church. Drs. Mason and Matthews are its chief ornaments.

A medical school, attached to King's college, existed in New York prior to the revolution, which was revived at the close of the war; it met however with but little success, and finally merged in the college of Physicians and Surgeons. No fault is to be attributed to the teachers, who were all well, and some of them eminently, qualified; but much of its failure is to be attributed to the discussions and jealousies which have almost continually pervaded that profession.

After the institution of the college of Physicians and Surgeons, and before the dissolution of the medical faculty of Columbia college, another medical school, led by Drs. Brown and Romeyn, arose, and conferred degrees under the auspices of the college at Brunswick in New Jersey, and New York exhibited for a short time the singular sight of three rival colleges, teaching the same profession and conferring the same degree.

The medical education of New York, is conducted by a college of Physicians and Surgeons, instituted by the Regents of the University, in 1801, but which has several times been on the point of dissolution, from internal dissensions. Its affairs at present appear to go on with tolerable unanimity. Its students amount to nearly two hundred, who are well instructed by professors of distinguished ability.

New York cannot boast of its public libraries. The Society Library is by no means worthy of such a city, and appears almost deprived of public patronage. The library of the college has about

four thousand volumes, many of them rare and curious, but is rather the nucleus round which to form a collection, than any thing else. The Historical Society has a most valuable but not extensive collection in its department. The college of Physicians has not yet acquired any very great number of books, and the circulating libraries circulate nothing but novels and ephemeral productions.

Messrs. Eastburn & Co. have in the way of their trade, formed a collection of books, such as has never been approached in this country, and which rivals in quality, the great collection of Lackington. That such an establishment should have been formed, speaks no less in praise of the enterprise and intelligence of Mr. Eastburn, than of the literary taste of the people of New York, and bespeaks their moral improvement, more than any other circumstance.

Mr. Eastburn has also attached to his establishment, rooms where the literary and scientific journals of Europe are regularly imported and greedily perused.

The Literary and Philosophical society was founded within a few years, and has already published a very respectable volume of transactions; another is said to be in readiness. The munificence of the corporation of the city has provided it with apartments, in a building in which are also located the Historical society and the Academy of Arts.

The Historical society has already been casually mentioned; it has besides its library, under its charge a very valuable collection of mineralogy, conchology, and medals made by Messrs. Col. Gibbs and J. G. Bogert, the greatest part of which is their own private property.

The Academy of Arts has among other valuable articles in its possession, a set of casts from the most admired antique statues, a number of good original pictures and copies from the first masters, several valuable books and port folios of engravings, and a complete edition of the works of Piranesi, the gift of the late emperor of France. Its collection is open to students, under direction of the keeper, who furnishes instruction gratis, and since this arrangement has gone into effect, much promising talent has been elicited. The Academy has raised by loan a sum of two thousand dollars, which has been sent to England for the purpose of procuring a full length portrait of the venerable West, to be painted by sir Thomas Lawrence. Its exhibitions have been very respectable, but its progress is in some measure checked, and its utility circumscribed by the opposition of a cabal of artists.—Some of the patronage, to which it was legitimately entitled, as the natural focus of the arts, has been applied in another direction, and a building appropriated to the catch-penny purpose of exhibiting *panoramas*, stands as a monument of misdirected taste and wasted public spirit. At the head of the academy is Col. Trumbull, whom it is only necessary to name, and several artists of great respectability, rank among its honorary members, academicians and associates: among its fo-

reign members it ranks Napoleon and Lucien Bonaparte, the great Canova, West, Lawrence, and many others of high eminence.

In looking over these different institutions, it is impossible not to be struck with the great agency one individual has had in their foundation and improvement; it is needless to say that this individual is the present governor of the state of New York. It may perhaps be said, that he has had great advantages of situation, but his utility has often depended more upon his strenuous private exertions, than upon his high official situations. He has been most active in the formation of the Historical and the Literary and Philosophical society, has patronized the college of Physicians, and been the chief instrument in the foundation of the Lancaster free-school. The donation of the State to Columbia college, during the last session of the legislature, received his official countenance and much of his private influence; he presided for several years in the academy, and in short, has in every instance, shown himself the friend of learned men and the patron of science.—His promotion to the government of the state, has enlarged the sphere of his utility and exertions, and his name will be long remembered coupled with the greatest public work ever commenced in the Western Hemisphere.

From the above remarks it will be seen that New York possesses very many of the sources, which give rise to public improvement in knowledge, and is rapidly acquiring more; and if the progress be continued in the same ratio, she may soon rank as high in the intellectual scale as she does in the commercial. Y.

ART. III.—*On Gessner and his Works.*

SWITZERLAND has given birth to many illustrious men. The character of its inhabitants, from the time of Cæsar, has retained all its peculiarities and distinctive qualities. The same energy of spirit—grandeur of feeling—unvacillating and unmingled hatred of arbitrary aggrandizement, and the same glow of patriotism, that distinguished the opposition of the Helvetic republics, to the domineering ambition of ancient Rome, appear constantly to have been maintained; and manifested, perhaps, more wonderfully, in these latter days, when Austria and France assembled in their power, to crush in wantonness, that singular polity which had been built on the magnificent foundations of independence and virtue. From that interesting period, when the republics began to assume a more refined and luxurious cast of character, in consequence of their subjection to the Roman government, to the times of Albert, the son of Rhodolphus of Hapsburg, we perceive innumerable and important transactions occurring, materially worthy of the observation of the statesman and soldier. It is unnecessary, in this place, to examine the progress of the national character from that momentous period to the days of the final extinction of the Helvetic confederacy, by the French invasion. Switzerland holds now only a

nominal independence. Whether she will ever possess that high military genius again, by which she was formerly distinguished, is now a subject of comparative indifference. The early intercourse of Switzerland and Germany, promoted astonishingly the interests of letters. The language of Switzerland is not original; it embraces the languages of France and Germany. The advancement made in the arts and sciences, by the Swiss and Germans, previous to the splendid age of the Medici, is familiar to the mind of the scholar. The invention of printing, happened precisely in that age, when literature was awakening from a long and oblivious sleep. The classicks were sought after, and studied with the most persevering industry. The emigrant Greeks, who were scattered in various parts of Italy, encouraged the taste universally prevalent, for the attainment of the language and literature of Greece. But notwithstanding all this, it is incontrovertibly true, that the manner of procedure, pursued by the Germans, in the dissemination of knowledge, was inconsistent as well as injudicious. The two first books, printed in Germany, were the Psalms and the Bible. No one, it is presumed, will doubt the expediency of this measure. The propagation of speculative and visionary theology, in the next place, engaged their attention; and the press, by consequence, became the passive slave of darkminded fanaticism and blind zeal. Happily, however, Italy pursued a widely different course. Many of the most celebrated works of the ancients were given to the world, and their influence had a tendency to extend the supremacy of good taste. The revival of the classics in Germany, though slow, was unerringly sure. It has been ingeniously and accurately depicted by Madame de Stael, in her celebrated work on that country. Rudolph Agricola, first promoted in Germany, the literature of the Greeks and Romans. That was emphatically a season of regeneration. The reign of dulness and ignorance passed away. The numerous universities burst the shackles which had so long confined them to the mysterious dogmas and idle creeds of an unnatural philosophy. Since those times, other men and other things have solicited our attention. From some peculiar and marked causes, the knowledge of German literature has been extremely limited, both in Europe and America. Prejudice has long triumphed. There seems, however, to be a laudable revolution of feeling in this respect; and there are those who fondly cherish hopes, that it may be more actively and generally diffused.

The foregoing observations, desultory as they are, will appear upon reflection, to have been naturally suggested, by the subject of this essay; and it will be perceived, that they retain an intimate influence over the works and memoirs of that illustrious scholar, which we are now to portray.

Solomon Gessner was born at Zurich, one of the largest cantons of Switzerland, the first of April, 1730, and was the son of a very eminent bookseller and printer. His father was a man possessed

of a good natural disposition—of extreme sensibility, and some genius; though he had never received the advantages of a liberal education, yet was generally esteemed a respectable scholar, and a well-meaning and public spirited citizen. The house of Orel Gessner and Co. had long been known as an extensive literary establishment; its correspondence was enlarged, perhaps beyond any other of those times; and the many beautiful and select editions of the Latin and Greek writings, which emanated from their press, were held in high estimation for their elegance and accuracy of typography; and purchased with avidity by the learned and the opulent.

The early part of young Gessner's life, developed none of those extraordinary indications of intellectual powers, which characterized him in more mature age. He was sent, while quite young, to one of the large public schools in Zurich; and though generally beloved by his schoolfellows, because he excelled in youthful sports, yet the required exercises of the seminary were either purposely avoided or carelessly neglected. He was soon outstripped by his more diligent classmates. Neither threatenings, nor commendations, nor punishments, seemed to avail any thing, with this indocile and refractory pupil. He was looked upon by his more sagacious friends, as a good-natured fellow and a dunce,—titles, which are often given gratuitously and without reflection; and which, not unfrequently, have a tendency to repress every genuine and lofty emotion of an originally generous and subtile spirit. It has often been remarked, that a wonderful precocity of intellectual powers, is seldom the harbinger of future greatness and distinction; that those who, in early youth, astonish and confound by overwhelming exhibitions of genius, and marvellous versatility of talents, soon reach their mushroom maturity—like quick springing and beautiful flowers,—and then languish, and wither, and die; that they resemble the far-reaching upward flight of the rocket—so rapid in its ascent, and splendid in its swift-shooting flames and corruscations, but which fades and vanishes from the eye at the moment when it most excites the wonderment of a giddy crowd. Gessner never devoted much of his time to books or studies, while at the public school of the canton. It is related of him, however, that he was not indolent, as other boys are indolent, or worse than indolent; that he played but few mischievous pranks; robbed no orchards; nor poisoned dogs with arsenic. But on the contrary, he was often seen alone in his closet, sketching whimsical and ludicrous caricatures of his pedagogues; or with his little knife and chisel, carving tolerably accurate, but grotesque and strange figures of brute animals; or modelling in wax the bust of some ancient warrior or orator, the original of which, had attracted his observation, while carelessly and listlessly lounging in his father's shop.

This conduct of Gessner, distressed his father exceedingly. Parental authority had as little effect upon this seemingly incorrigible boy, as the discipline of the academy. Afflicted, alarmed,

mortified—the elder Gessner determined to try what influence a change of situation might have upon his son; and, therefore, was induced to place him under the immediate superintendence of Dr. Valentine Vogeeli, of Berge, an erudite and pious clergyman. This gentleman had often looked with the most tender and affectionate concern on Gessner, and embraced without reluctance the ungrateful and arduous duty of instructor. The young Gessner, happy in quitting the irksomeness and sameness of a public school, retired gladsomely with his generous friend to the sequestered and romantic valley of Berge. For a long time, the labours, and reprehensions, and encouragements of Dr. Vogeeli, were singularly unprofitable and hopeless. His pupil seemed to cherish a most determined and unqualified detestation of all kinds of literature. His days were spent in rambling among the mountains with his gun, attended by a favourite dog, or else in some fisherman's boat, which he would fearlessly lanch upon the waters of a broad extended lake. His love of the sublime and beautiful, commenced at this early period. He would stand for hours upon some awful precipice, and gaze upon the majestic scenes which burst upon his enraptured view; the open and serene expanse of the heavens; the ruins of antique towers and castles; the far-sweeping line of the Alps, almost imperceptible in the distance; the cataract rushing from the rocks; a stream gliding peacefully along the verdant banks,—and the soaring eagle, which the report of his gun had scared from his lofty nest. There was something in all these objects, wonderfully and magically impressive to the mind of Gessner. The powers of his soul were excited—the ardour of genius now began to steal upon it, and to animate its latent energies.

That which is called *accident* by the world, perhaps too, had a tendency to develop the mental faculties of Gessner. In one of his mountain excursions, in pursuit of game, wearied with the sport, he entered the rustic cabin of a peasant, to obtain a new supply of ammunition and refreshment. While the host left the apartment to make ready accommodations for his guest, Gessner's eye fell upon a tattered volume lying on the floor. He thought it would be suitable for wadding; he, therefore, took it up, and listlessly and vacantly turned over the defaced and mutilated pages. His curiosity soon became fixedly and entirely occupied. This volume was De Foe's interesting history of Robinson Crusoe. This was the first book that ever awakened the dormant energies of his mind; he took occasion to peruse it frequently. After this singular occurrence, the reformation of Gessner was conspicuously obvious to his affectionate friend Dr. Vogeeli. He commenced with newly excited animation his researches in literature, and in a little while vanquished the most imposing and difficult obstacles. The truth of that observation, once made to the pupils of the royal academy, by sir Joshua Reynolds, is apparently appropriate to the condition of young Gessner. 'We must all have experienced how lazily,' says that illustrious man, 'and consequently how ineffectually, in-

struction is received when forced upon the mind by others. Few have been taught to any purpose, who have not been their own teachers. We prefer those instructions which we have given ourselves, from our affection to our instructor, *and they are the more effectual, from being received into the mind, when it is most open to receive them.*'—Reynolds's Works, vol. i. sect. 2, p. 37.

Gessner now had frequent and favourable opportunities of improving himself in the languages of the ancients. His spirit of application was strong and enduring. He very soon obtained a tolerable knowledge of Virgil—grasping, as it were, with prophetic taste, the marvellously beautiful Eclogues or Bucolicks, and the Georgicks of that immortal poet. He read with care, the Pharsalia of Lucan,—and with the most rapturous and unmingled enthusiasm, the Works and Days, and the Theogony of Hesiod. The impressions which he received from the perusal of these sublime works of the shepherd of Helicon, first induced him to try his unfledged wings in the fairy regions of romance. Gessner was frequently heard to assert, 'that he should never have been a professed poet, had he never read the Invocation of the Theogony.' But his classical studies ended not here. It is affirmed of him, that he diligently studied the writings of Homer, and other Greek poets and historians, as well as those of the Romans. Without derogating from his character, we are inclined, however, to imagine that unless a supernatural change had taken place in his intellectual abilities and habits, this report must be exaggerated. The truth is, men of letters are convinced that the labour—the uninterrupted labour of many years, is requisite even to attain a superficial knowledge of them. And it must be remembered, that Gessner was yet in the first flushing and putting forth of youth.

After a residence of nearly three years with Dr. Vogeeli, Gessner was summoned home by his father, who had long been suffering with a distressing pulmonary disease, to succeed him in conducting the business of the firm. He was joyfully received, and admitted almost immediately on his return, into this far-famed and lucrative establishment; for he had already attained the stature, and claimed the dignity of manhood. His views, however, were so obviously directed to other pursuits of literature, and feeling himself incapacitated to fulfill the necessary duties which must devolve upon him, as an active partner of the concern, he was induced to make grateful overtures of relinquishment, and proposals of dissociation. But this mode of procedure, though it disappointed the long indulged hopes of the other partners of the house, yet did not fail to impress upon their minds, a deep conviction of his honourable, frank, and high-minded conduct. They, therefore, prevailed upon him, after several interviews, to continue with them, proposing the most liberal offers, and at the same time giving him to understand, that he might employ his time in any manner he thought most beneficial and advantageous to himself. Filled with gratitude, Gessner complied with their solicitations, and availed

himself of their generous indulgence, to prosecute with increasing steadiness and vigour, if possible, those studies and pursuits which possessed a character, indisputably congenial and appropriate to his peculiar disposition and genius. The life of the scholar is hardly ever marked by those astonishing and diversified incidents which so frequently prevail and glare in the histories of the hero and statesman. It is commonly spent in the seclusion of the library, or in the bosom of domestic felicity. The tumultuous movements, the heart afflicting concerns, and the controversies of a jarring world, he has little to do with; he has other difficulties to exercise and confirm his patience, and many painful and stubborn encounters with his own prejudices and predilections. If the busy sons of corporal labour, could be permitted to raise the veil, and look upon the hardships of the scholar—could they go along with him through many a tedious, mental toil—could they behold the mighty workings, the ineffectual struggles of the soul, after that *something* which has allured and enslaved him to investigation and study;—that triumphant something, which he hopes—and perhaps foolishly hopes—will benefit the world, and irradiate his own character, or pour some gleams of glory upon his grave; could they see all this, surely they would not repine at their own condition;—but unfortunately they hear not of the scholar until his fame and character are established, and in a measure command the attention of the world; or until some splendid manifestation of superior genius emanates from the dark recesses of his solitude.

In relation to Gessner, the probability is, that he spent much of his time in cultivating a knowledge of *belles lettres*, and in superintending the correction of the press. Many valuable works were published during his minority—particularly a most beautiful edition of the most admired classics. During this interval he improved various opportunities of becoming intimately acquainted with men, eminent for their literary and scientific attainments. Among the number may be mentioned, Segner, Brendel, the philosophic and melancholy Zimmermann, Jeseelin, and the celebrated Haller, who had lately been appointed professor of medicine and chemistry, in the university of Gottingen. By the advice of this distinguished physician, Gessner applied himself to the study of natural philosophy and mathematics; civil polity and statistics not unfrequently solicited his attention in hours of leisure; but above all, that which most employed his time, with a permanent and indefatigable zeal, was a critical examination of the best poets in ancient and modern languages. The Idyllia of Theocritus, particularly, and the Metamorphoses of Ovid, of the Greeks and Latins, as well as the more eccentric effusions of Bocker, Sellert, Altman, Klopstock, among the Germans; Voltaire, Racine, and Corneille, among the French; and Milton, Shakspeare, and Thomson, with the English. Nor were these all the literary labours of his now maturing and extraordinary mind. He cultivated an origi-

nal and exquisite taste for landscape painting, and was indefatigable in perfecting himself in this charming art.

Passing over some time, thus instructively and advantageously occupied, Gessner being now nearly twenty-two years old, made the tour of Germany. The letters which he had received from his honourable and learned friends in Zurich and Berne, immediately introduced him into the society of the literary, the fashionable, and the wealthy; and his own amiable and ingenuous disposition and manners, together with his fine talents, charmed his new associates, and confirmed the universal predilection in his favour.

He returned to Zurich in 1753, and was received with unfeigned marks of cordiality and affection by his early and steadfast friends. It was in this important year, that he first presented himself to the world in the character of an author, by the publication of an Idyl, in measured prose, entitled *Night*. This little piece was favourably received by the public. It is not remarkable for any thing, but its crowded luxuriant metaphors, and wildly rhapsodical sentiments; the errors—but the pardonable errors—of youthful productions. Traces of genius, however, and a cultivated imagination are discernible;—the bright seed time of a brighter harvest!—There is something melancholy, but inviting in the invocation.

‘Mild night! how soft thy shades descended, as I reposed on this moss covered stone! I watched the glorious sun as he declined behind the dark mountains, and smiled cheerfully as he departed, through the light clouds that overhung the wild landscape, like a resplendent veil, gilding the meadows, the thickets and the vineyards. All nature was hushed into a hallowed and prophetic stillness—yet, reflecting the dark sweepings of crimson light which gleamed on the western heaven! The birds chanted their vesper hymns, and sought their solitary nests. The shepherd, accompanied by his long shadow, breathed on his pipe a farewell melody as he returned mournfully to his desolate hut.’—Gessner’s Works, vol. 2. p. 219.

Gessner artfully contrives to compliment the scholars, Hagedom and Gleim in another part of this poem, from whom he had received particular and grateful civilities in the course of his tour. The outline of the metamorphosis of the glow worm, is apparently borrowed from some fable of Ovid—perhaps from the blended stories of Arachne and Calisto. Gratified by the unexpected and unanimously happy success of this poem, he shortly afterwards published the romantic pastoral tale of *Daphnis*; which he dedicated to Mademoiselle Charlotte Heidegger, a beautiful and fascinating girl, for whom he had long cherished an ardent attachment.

It is observable that the same remark already made in relation to the transformation of the glow worm, is also applicable to the fable of Næthus and the nymph. The whole pastoral, indeed, was suggested to Gessner, by an ancient Greek tale, entitled Chloe and Daphnis, written by Longus, an obscure personage, but evidently a man of merit and literature, of which his pastoral gives abun-

dant testimony; his name, however, is not mentioned in any works of the classic writers, and it is therefore impossible to imagine with correctness, in what age he flourished. The next production which Gessner was induced to print, is the *Song of a Swiss to his Mistress*, arrayed in panoply. It is founded on an affecting and singular circumstance, which occurred during the terrible siege of Zurich, by the emperor Albert; when the wives of the Zurichers appeared in the fortress, clad in complete armour. The history of those eventful days is well known: This imposing accessory force, to the already subdued defenders of Helvetia, it may be mentioned, induced the emperor to withdraw his forces for a time from the gates of the city. It is impossible to give an adequate idea of this fine poem in a translation.

‘Thus clad in glittering arms, elect of my soul, thou resemblest the celestial spirit who guarded the gates of Paradise. He frowned terribly in his wrath on the wicked, but benignly smiled on the virtuous and the brave; thus thy bright blue eye appals the degenerate foe, but beams with radiant light and loveliness on the beloved of thy bosom!’—Gessner’s Works, vol. 2. p. 209.

Pastoral poetry is esteemed by many the most pleasing kind of poetry; it is doubtless the most ancient. The care of flocks and herds was among the earliest employments of mankind; the probability is, therefore, that the scenes of nature first attracted observation, and were the simple subjects of primitive poetry. The shepherds amused themselves in singing soft and tender ditties, or breathing some pensive and irregular melody on their oaten flutes; for these things amused their solitude, and wore away the gloominess incident to the mental vacuity of their passive occupations. The felicity and tranquil condition of those ages, were peculiarly adapted to such poems; the mere physical properties are not only subjected to the influence of the vicissitudes of seasons; the intellectual affections and sensations also, must acknowledge their supremacy. Hence, the pastoral poet is enabled to portray the strikingly permanent effects produced on moral character, by adventitious circumstances, as well as their power in quickening, and cleansing to unstained purity; and withal, elevating the spirit. Thus a comparative view may be sketched of the innocence and unsophisticated simplicity of rural life, and the dangers and difficulties inseparable from public society. Besides, there are circumstances of an infinitely loftier and more majestic character. The beautiful, and the grand, and the magnificent objects of creation, would naturally excite inquiry after the great cause of this wonderful mechanism; the architect who framed these goodly works, and splendid scenery in the mighty drama of the world, must obviously awaken an insatiable curiosity—unmingled astonishment—hallowed contemplation. If the means by which their operations are continually prosecuted, are palpably conducive and proportionate to the attainment of ends, either visible or invisible, which may, perhaps, be ascertained by the reasonings of analogy; if benevolent

intention is continually manifested in the development; gratitude, sincere and deep; love profound, mingled with holy, sublime, but unutterable sensation, must engross the whole of the immortal soul, when it contemplates the glorious and beneficent deity.

Dr. Blair is inclined to think that pastoral poetry was not the earliest form of poetical composition; but rather cultivated when society had advanced in civilization and refinement, that it was not adopted, in fact, until men could look back through the shadowy regions of retrospection, on the innocent and uncorrupted lives of their ancestors, and contrast the superior felicity they enjoyed with their own. Alexander Pope in his Essay on Pastorals, and Fontenelle and Watson in their discourses on the same subject, have entertained different sentiments. It is irrelevant and unnecessary to pursue the argument in this place, and besides we have already pronounced an opinion. The Idyllia of Theocritus, hold in this class of composition, the first rank, at least in antiquity, if not in execution—they were written in the Doric dialect. He has been called the father of pastoral poetry; there are exceptions indisputably to some of his effusions, which are dark examples, some for their ill-nature and abusiveness, and others for their immodesty, too much, indeed, as Aristotle has been pleased to express it, of the *rus verum et barbarum*. Virgil, who imitates Theocritus, and who maintains assuredly the next station to him, has excelled his master in judgment, contrivance, and good taste. His bucolics are wonderful masterpieces. They are beautifully and strikingly various in their character. It has been supposed that some of them were written at the solicitation of his agricultural friends, for the purpose of giving, indirectly, a new and more dignified character to the profession of husbandry and rural occupations, which had degenerated in the anarchy of the times. Thus the ancient policy was to be renewed and restored, and at the same time, new principles of action to be developed and confirmed. These suggestions will appear more credible, on reflecting upon the nature of the tenure of landed property in the ancient republic of Rome, and by whom the profession was pursued; that warriors, and consuls, and senators, directed the plough, and that their extent of grounds were limited, and the laws rigid and conditional. Bishop Warburton, among the moderns, was inclined to be of this opinion—but he was always the disciple of novel opinions and ingenious paradoxes: we all remember his whimsical discourse on the sixth book of the *Æneid*. We are contented to believe (in relation to the bucolics) that Virgil only meant to give a portrait of various situations in rural life, for the amusement of the Roman people, and that they had nothing to do with an exacting of interest in the concerns of national husbandry.—The greater number of the pastorals of modern ages are comparatively weak and unnatural. Petrarch amused his contemporaries with poems of this cast, written in Latin; but they are now quite forgotten. The innovation attempted in the *Arcadia* of Sannazarius, published in the enlight-

ened age of the Medici, is memorable. His example, however, did not admit of imitation, and he has no disciples. The Pastor Fido of Guarini, and the Aminta of Tasso, both deservedly rank high, though the one is strained with hyperbolical and fulsome sentiment, and the other is not unfrequently rendered obscure, by affected conciseness and simplicity. Spenser, and Ambrose Philips, seem to have been genuine pastoral poets. Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd, and the Oriental Eclogues of Collins, though frequently praised, are hardly ever read. The Eclogues of Pope, are merely beautiful transcripts of Virgil and Theocritus; the versification is singularly accurate and felicitous, but they are too finical and *sophomorical*—too much of the twang of monotony, and the tricks of antithesis and alliteration; when we have read them once, we never wish to read them again. His Messiah, perhaps, is an exception. Undoubtedly, the best pastoral poet in the English language is Thomson.—He was emphatically the child of nature. No one shall ever sound his airy harp again!

Frequent reasons have been assigned, why the French poets have never excelled in this class of poetry. The explanation of Voltaire seems most palpable and convincing. He asserts that it arises from the ideas of slavish wretchedness, poverty, and degradation, which are commonly associated in France with agricultural employments. The same thing is mentioned by the abbe Delille (the author of the two best pastorals in the French language, the *Jardins* and *Homme de Champs*) in the preface to his admirable translation of the Georgicks. There is the following just remark in that discourse, as quoted by professor Stewart of Edinburgh.—‘A translation,’ says he, ‘of this poem, if it had been undertaken by an author of genius, would have been better calculated, than any other work, for adding to the riches of our language. A version of the *Æneid* itself, however well executed, would, in this respect, be of less utility; inasmuch, as the genius of our tongue accommodates itself more easily to the description of heroic achievements, than to the details of natural phenomena, and of the operations of husbandry. To force it to express these with suitable dignity, would have been a real conquest over that false delicacy which it has contracted by our unfortunate prejudices.’

It is not impossible that revolutions may be experienced, and the most ardent wishes of such well-disposed philosophers, hereafter, be adequately fulfilled. Works of originality, however, are not easily produced. Those productions are mere imitations, in general, which are oftentimes supposed to possess primitive intrinsic value: their worth, therefore, consists evidently in the proportionate ratio they may possess, to the skilfulness and good taste and accuracy with which they have been executed. We estimate them pretty much as we should copies of good painters from the first rate masters;—say, as the copies of Raffaele from Masaccio and Michael Angelo, or of West from Correggio. Hence, as the history of poetry comprehends different periods of time, in-

tervening, when works of this unique description are composed, in like manner, each valuable production comprehends a distinguished era itself; nevertheless, divers models may be proposed, examined, and adopted, perhaps in the same age, without destroying the argument; and this mode of procedure will more generally obtain, where the knowledge of the arts and sciences is most extensively disseminated and encouraged.

If the foregoing observations be just, it is obvious that he who professes to write pastoral, or any other kind of poetry, must possess peculiar characteristics of mind. No person inherited them in such rich abundance as Gessner. We must be allowed to quote in this connexion, the judicious and interesting criticism of Dr. Blair, upon the works of the poet of Zurich. 'Of all the moderns, Gessner,' says he, 'a poet of Switzerland, has been the most successful in pastoral compositions. He has introduced into his Idylls, as he entitles them, many new ideas. His rural scenery is often striking, and his descriptions are lively. He presents pastoral life with all the embellishments of which it is susceptible; but without any excess of refinement. What forms the chief merit of this poet is, that he writes from the heart, and has enriched the subject of his Idylls with incidents which give rise to much tender sentiment. Scenes of domestic felicity are beautifully painted. The mutual affection of husbands and wives, parents and children, of brothers and sisters, as well as of lovers, are displayed in a most touching manner. In the subject and conduct of his pastorals, he appears to me to have outdone all the moderns.'—It is almost unnecessary to amplify what is so elegantly expressed in these remarks. It is known that Gessner took Theocritus for his model. The reception of his Idylls, far exceeded his most sanguine expectations. They were no sooner read, than universally admired. There were some, indeed, who stood aloof on their first publication; some who looked for wild and excessive metaphor, or an exuberance of delicate allusion, or affected sentiment—to such, the classical spirit that breathed in every page of Gessner, could avail nothing in conformation; but either fashion or good taste soon vanquished their scruples, and they who were first to condemn, now joined most rapturously in the applauses of his admirers and friends.

These poems were the frequent subjects of correction and emendation. 'These Idylls' (says he, in the well written preface to the collection) 'are the fruits of my happiest hours;—of those blissful hours when fancy and peace shed their benignant influence around me, and excluding all that belongs to the times in which we live, awakened all the charms and felicities of the golden age. The well regulated and calm mind dwells with supreme pleasure on the visions of sequestered tranquillity and unmingled happiness; the scenes in which the votary of poetry portrays the wild and simple beauties of unsophisticated nature, become powerfully endeared to us by those bright associations of resemblance to the peaceful and pleasant, which we ourselves have once enjoyed. Frequently

do I fly from the turmoil of the city, and seek the wilderness and solitary place. The variegated beauties of the landscape, sooth the mind into a still and tender melancholy, and disperse that gloominess and displeasure, which grieved me amid the busy crowd of men. Filled with an almost holy rapture, I give up my soul to the contemplation of nature, and feel, perhaps, at such times, richer than an Utopian monarch, and happier than the shepherd of the golden age.' Gess. Works, vol. 2, p. 1.

This quotation shows us openly, unreservedly, the character of the *poet* and the *man*; and yet we know not which to love best and most heartily. Most of the Idylls are exquisitely and highly wrought; replete with pictures, wonderfully engaging and affecting, to the reader of sensibility. The mere heaping together of wild flowers in luxuriant profusion, is not enough to charm the senses;—there is a skilfulness of disposition and arrangement, and well suiting of places, necessary for display and effect. Glittering ornaments and fanciful allusions, to which natural objects have long been subservient, as subjects of likelihood and comparison, are not, and should not, be the principal features in a well written performance. To be sure, they constitute much of the necessary and essential part in all kinds of poetry; and philosophy is much obliged to them for their adventitious powers. But this will not weaken the former proposition. There must be something solid and substantial. The magnificent temple must be supported on a durable base, by pillars of strength, as well as of grace, symmetry and beauty. Gessner felt the truth of this, and has acted with discriminating judgment, in making a due and proper intermixture of the genuine elements of pastoral poetry.

(To be continued.)

ART. IV.—*Extracts from 'Histoire de la Magie en France, depuis le Commencement de la Monarchie jusque a nos Jours.'* By M. Jules Garinet.

[From the French.]

WHEN Charles the bald (who was no conjurer) besieged the capital of Anjou, the French troops were assailed by a multitude of demons, in the form of locusts, having six wings, and teeth as hard as flints. These singular enemies flew with the utmost regularity, ranged in order of battle, and were preceded by a corps of pioneers of their own kind. It would have been useless to oppose them by arms of human manufacture. The church therefore opened her artillery; they were exorcised, and the immense host being put to the rout, plunged headlong into the sea.

A count of Maçon oppressed the ecclesiastics, stripped the convents of their provisions, turned the canons out of the churches, and the monks out of the monasteries. As his crimes were public, they were punished in a memorable way. One day, whilst he was in his palace surrounded by his guards, an unknown knight entered, and, without descending from his horse, he went straight up

to the count and desired him to follow him. The count, impelled by a supernatural power, obeyed, and mounted a horse which was in readiness at the gate of the palace. The unfortunate sinner was immediately carried into the air, and his cries were heard until he was no longer visible.

This fact is related by Peter the venerable; who was for a length of time abbot of Cluni, and who died in 1156. He has left behind him two books of miracles, to which he was himself a living witness!

In 1456, Robert Olive was burnt at Falaise. It was proved on his trial that the devil, with whom he held communion, assumed the name of Chrysopole; and at the instigation of the said Chrysopole, Robert Olive killed and burnt little children.

In 1557, four hundred sorcerers were burnt at Toulouse.

In 1587, the parliament of Paris condemned Jacque Rolet, as a *wolf-man*, for having eaten the best part of a little boy who unfortunately fell into his power. (*De Lanere, arrets notables de Paris.*)

In the year 1588, in a village among the mountains of Auvergne, about two leagues from Apchon, a gentleman, who was standing at one of the windows of his chateau, saw a huntsman of his acquaintance pass by, and requested that he would bring him some game. The huntsman was attacked by a large wolf; he fired his arquebuse without wounding the animal; he then seized the wolf by the ears, and, with his hunting-hanger, cut off one of his paws, which he put into his bag. He returned to the gentleman's castle, and on searching his bag for the wolf's paw, he drew out a human hand with a gold ring on one of the fingers. The gentleman immediately recognised the hand to be his wife's, and *this led him somehow to suspect her*. He went in quest of her, and found her in the kitchen, with her arm hid under her apron. The gentleman produced the hand, and she could not deny having assumed the form of the wolf which attacked the huntsman. The woman was tried, found guilty, and burnt at Riom.

At Tours, in 1589, fourteen persons condemned for sorcery, appealed against the punishment of death, which had been pronounced on them. The court appointed a commission of physicians to examine these supposed sorcerers. The commission were of opinion, that it would be proper to administer Hellebore to the unfortunate creatures, rather than to visit them with any other punishment, and they were accordingly acquitted.

Fifty sorcerers and sorceresses were executed in the city of Douai, in the year 1606.

In 1610, the parliament of Bordeaux pronounced sentence of death upon four persons who were carried into the clouds by the help of the devil.

We shall not enter into a detail of the circumstance which took place in 1816, at Treilly, about three leagues from Amiens. The chief of the establishment of the Jesuits at St. Acheuil was too deeply compromised in it. Nor shall we do more than merely call

to the recollection of the reader the more recent affair, in which the devil, under the form of a white sheep, appeared to two young persons of the city of Burges. The magistracy having thought proper to interfere, the mystification was incomplete.

It would appear that the history of magic is drawing to a close—occasionally indeed conjurers start up here and there; but instead of being exorcised, they are confined in mad-houses; instead of being burnt, they are exposed to public ridicule. It is evident that they cannot long sustain this treatment. However, in case they should appear in force again, it is proper that the world should know how to deal with them. For this purpose we extract a few articles from the code relating to sorcerers, drawn up at Dole, on the 19th of August 1601, by Henry Boguet, grand judge of Sainte Claude. As it is probable that our unbelieving legislators will make no enactment on this subject, the following may be the means of providing, in case of necessity, against a deficiency so prejudicial to good order. The code is perfectly conformable to the principles of humanity of the age in which it was drawn up.

‘The judge of the district shall take cognisance of the affair and try it. The ordinary forms of trial are not to be observed in such cases.

‘The suspicion of sorcery is sufficient to authorise the arrest of any individual. The examination must immediately follow the arrest, because the devil assists sorcerers in prison.

‘The judge must closely watch the countenance of sorcerers; observe whether the person suspected sheds tears; whether he looks downward, mutters to himself or blasphemes, for these are all proofs of guilt.

‘Shame frequently prevents a sorcerer from confessing; for this reason the judge should be alone, and the clerk who writes down the answers concealed.

‘If the accused do not confess, he must be placed in close confinement, and trusty persons appointed to draw the truth from him.

‘There are some judges who make promises of pardon, and nevertheless finally pronounce sentence of execution; but this custom, though authorized by many doctrines, is extremely cruel.

‘If public report accuse the criminal of sorcery, he is a sorcerer.

‘A son is allowed to give evidence against his father.

‘Witnesses of infamous character may be heard as well as others.

‘Children likewise may be heard.

‘Variations in the answers of the witnesses must not be considered as a presumption favourable to the innocence of the prisoner if all accuse him of sorcery.

‘The punishment is that of fire. Sorcerers may be strangled, and afterwards burnt.

‘Wolf-men must be burnt alive.

‘The judge may condemn on mere conjecture, and presumption; in that case the criminal must not be burnt, but hanged,’ &c. &c.

What would the grand judge of Sainte-Claude say to our modern codes? There is a wide difference between our legislators and those of his age. But nobody can call in question the superiority of the latter, for Daniel Romanez, an advocate of Salins, accepted the dedication with the utmost gratitude; and the author, the wise Boguet, received the following admirable certificate:—

‘I the undersigned, Doctor of Sacred Theology, declare having read the book entitled, *Discourse on Sorcerers*, in which I find nothing contrary to the catholic and Roman religion, or morality; but consider it as *abounding in excellent doctrines*.

Dole, Aug. 13, 1601.

DELABARRE.

ART. V.—*Marshal Grouchy.*

THIS distinguished officer has lately published a pamphlet in the French language, entitled ‘*Observations on the Narration of the Campaign of 1815, by General Gourgaud. And Refutation of some of the Assertions of other Publications, relative to the Battle of Waterloo.*’

The first charge of general Gourgaud against the marshal is, ‘his uncertainty on the 17th, as to the movements of the enemy. If he had been at Wavres on the evening of the 17th, in communication with the left of the French army, Blucher would not have dared to divide his forces before him, and supposing he had done so, that Grouchy should have pursued him.’

The Prussians had commenced their retreat after the battle of Ligny, on the evening of the 16th, and though Grouchy had applied for orders to Napoleon on that night, and had been near his person during all the morning of the 17th, he was not ordered in pursuit until twelve o’clock, when the Prussians had been fifteen hours on the march. Napoleon was altogether ignorant of their direction, and left it to Grouchy to obtain information on that head. Grouchy’s army was 32,000 strong. Blucher, who, after the battle of Ligny, had rallied the corps of Bulow, had 95,000 men (these estimates are from official reports).—Napoleon’s orders were issued at Fleurus, which is about ten hours march from Wavres, by Saravain. The orders contain no direction towards the latter town, and Grouchy’s first direction was upon Gembloux and Saravain, which movement was approved by Napoleon, as appears below, by the answer to Grouchy’s despatch. The corps of generals Vandamme and Gerard, part of Grouchy’s force, could not be put in movement till two o’clock P. M. It was therefore impossible that he could have been with his army at Wavres on the evening of the 17th, even supposing he had known that he ought to move upon that point.

The second cause assigned in the work of general Gourgaud, for the loss of the battle of Waterloo, is ‘the misunderstanding relative to the instructions given to marshal Grouchy—and the *non-reception* of the orders which his majesty sent to him in the night of the 17th and morning of the 18th.’

The following official letter of marshal Soult, chief of Napoleon's staff, written on the part of his majesty, from the field of battle of Waterloo at one o'clock P. M., belies this assertion. 'M. Le Marechal, you have written at two o'clock this morning to the emperor, that you were marching upon Saravalain. This movement is in conformity with the dispositions of his majesty, which have been communicated to you.*'

How could this assent be given to Grouchy's movement, if he had misunderstood the intentions of Napoleon? and he certainly cannot be blamed for the *non-reception* of orders, supposing them to have been given—which Grouchy doubts.—Had they been given, the letter of Soult would have referred to that circumstance; he would have expressed astonishment and dissatisfaction at their non-execution, and would have repeated the dispositions they prescribed.

Grouchy asserts that he reminded Napoleon that the Prussians commenced their retreat at 10 P. M., and that much time must elapse, before the corps, which were scattered, the men cleaning their arms and cooking, having no expectation of marching that day, could be put in motion: that the enemy would thus have seventeen or eighteen hours advance; that from the reports of the cavalry sent to reconnoitre, it appeared that Blucher was retreating towards Namur, and that thus in pursuing him he should be separated from Napoleon's army, and out of the circle of his operations. These observations were badly received. He repeated to Grouchy the orders he had given, adding, that it was to him to discover the route taken by Blucher; that he (Napoleon) was going to fight the English; that he must complete the defeat of the Prussians, in attacking them as soon as he should join them; that he should correspond with him, &c. Such were the only orders received by Grouchy, and it would certainly have been difficult to have misunderstood them, and more so to have assured from such orders any important results, or to have discovered immediately in what direction he ought to march. After much inquiry he inferred that Blucher was retiring on Brussels or Louvain, and Grouchy marched his infantry on Gembloux. As he had expected, much time was lost before the corps of Vandamme and Gerard, and particularly that of the latter, were in motion: impatient at their delay, Grouchy preceded them to Gembloux. There he learned that, during the night of the 16th, several Prussian columns had passed, as well as a number of generals, but he could not learn their ulterior direction; and while he was gathering this unsatisfactory intelligence, the first troops of Vandamme appeared. General Gerard was still behind, and the whole of his force did not reach

* An attentive examination of the Map gives the following distances:

Fleurus to Gembloux, 3 leagues or 9 miles.

Gembloux to Wavres, (by Saravalain) 6 leagues or 18 miles.

Fleurus to Wavres, in a straight line, 8 leagues or 24 miles.

Wavres to St. Lambert, by the right bank of the Dyle, 3 leagues or 9 miles.

Wavres to Waterloo, 4 leagues or 12 miles.

Gembloux till 10 at night. Meanwhile Excelman's cavalry, which had passed beyond the town, reported that they had fallen in with some Prussian cavalry. It was night, and the rain fell in torrents; yet Grouchy ordered the pursuit of the enemy, and that every exertion should be made not to lose sight of him. Grouchy reported to Napoleon his situation, and, during the night, having received some further information as to the march of the Prussians, he addressed to him a second letter, at two o'clock in the morning, to inform him that he should resume his march before day light, in the direction of Saravalain. At sunrise, Vandamme's corps was in motion in that direction, following the cavalry of Excelmans: successive reports confirmed that several Prussian columns had passed by Saravalain and its environs, and from that village he wrote again, to announce to Napoleon, that he expected every moment to join the rear-guard of the enemy, sending the despatch by major La Frenaie, an officer perfectly capable of giving an account of what had been gathered of the movements of the enemy, and of bringing back orders, if any should be given. He rejoined Excelmans, who, since the morning, had been on the heels of the extreme rear-guard of the Prussian cavalry, and at half-past 11, at about a league and a half from Wavres, they discovered a rear-guard of infantry, with cannon. The cannonade began immediately, and Vandamme arriving with the head of his infantry, marched upon the Prussians, who took a position in the wood of Limilette, from which they were immediately driven upon Wavres. The enemy was vigorously pursued, and between one and two o'clock, Grouchy was master of the part of the town situated on the left bank of the Dyle.

During the affair near the wood of Limilette, a cannonade was heard at a distance on the left. Grouchy rode in that direction, and had no doubt but that it was from Napoleon's attack on the English army. Having reached the Prussians, whom he was ordered to pursue, and being already engaged with them, his duty was not to abandon them, but to attack them vigorously at Wavres, to prevent their undertaking any thing on the side of Waterloo. He was not then, nor could he be, informed, that at the break of day, two of Blucher's corps had quitted Wavres, directing their march towards the British army, or that at about that moment the head of these corps were reaching the heights of St. Lambert, in sight of the French troops at Waterloo. Moreover, having but 32,000 men, and having reason to believe the Prussian force of 95,000 concentrated before him, Grouchy was too weak to divide his forces, and would have run the risk of being cut to pieces had he done so. Nevertheless, a little after, general Pajol, who was in the rear, had orders to move upon the village of Limale, and in the direction of the cannonade that was heard.

In possession of a part of Wavres, Grouchy had in his front, on the other side of the Dyle, a Prussian army, the strength of which it was difficult to estimate, from the nature of the ground. It

crowned the heights on the other side of the town, occupied the village of Bielge, and the mill of that name, below it, and extended in the direction of Limilette. A lively cannonade was opened from the two banks, between Vandamme's battery of twelve, and the batteries of the enemy—the infantry also kept up a fire on both sides, but the passage of the river could not be forced, defended as it was by the musketry from the houses, and by the artillery.—The head of Gerard's column arriving during these operations, he was ordered to attack the mill of Bielge, for the purpose of passing the Dyle at that point. The cavalry of Excelmans was at *Lower Wavres*, and Pajol had been directed, as before mentioned, to Limale, in order to put Grouchy in communication with Napoleon, and to be ready to cut off the retreat of the Prussians, if they should retire on Brussels, after being driven from the position of Wavres—Pajol would have been before them on that route, and must have greatly harassed their movement. The attack on the mill being feebly made, failed; and Grouchy was preparing to renew it, when an officer from Napoleon, delivered to him, at about four o'clock, a despatch from marshal Soult, of the following tenor:—

‘ *From the field of battle of Waterloo, the 18th,
one o'clock in the afternoon.*

‘ M. Le Marechal, you wrote at two o'clock this morning to the emperor, that you were marching upon Saravallain; your project then was to move to Corbuix or to Wavres. This movement is in conformity with the dispositions of his majesty, which have been communicated to you. Nevertheless, the emperor orders me to say, that you are always to manœuvre in our direction. It is to you to see the point where we are, to regulate yourself accordingly, and to maintain our communications, as well as to be always ready to fall upon any troops of the enemy, that may attempt to disturb our right, and to beat them. At this moment the battle is gained on the line of Waterloo—the enemy's centre is at Mont St. Jean—thus, you will manœuvre to join our right.

‘ (Signed) The duke of DALMATIA.’

‘ P. S.—A letter just intercepted states, that general Bulow is to attack our flank: we think we perceive this corps on the heights of St. Lambert; therefore, lose not an instant in moving towards us, joining us, and destroying Bulow, whom you will take greatly at fault.’ (*en flagrant délit.*)

At the moment of receiving this letter, all Grouchy's troops were engaged—Vandamme's corps could not be drawn from its position without the danger of the enemy repassing the river, and preventing, or at least retarding his movements. It was the same with the part of Gerard's corps engaged at the mill, which had not yet been carried; but about half of the latter corps was in the rear, and nearer to St. Lambert than the troops at Wavres. Accompanied by Gerard, Grouchy went to meet that portion of his corps, intending to direct it by Limale towards St. Lambert.—

This corps was in a state of partial disorganization, and its movements were slow, and without precision, in consequence of the impression made upon them by the desertion to the enemy of Lieutenant-General Bourmont, and some other officers, and different causes. The evening before, it had been an enormous time in leaving the plains of Fleurus, and on this morning, it was much too late in leaving Gembloux. The arrival of these troops, the only force really disposable, and capable of being marched immediately towards St. Lambert, occasioned great delay. They at last appeared, but the want of guides, the difficulty of the roads, and divers secondary circumstances, retarded greatly the movement which had been ordered. While these matters were in progress, Grouchy returned with Gerard to Wavres; hoping that Vandamme could have passed the Dyle, and that he might direct his corps towards St. Lambert, by the left bank—he found things in the state in which he had left them, and after alighting from his horse to conduct himself a new attack on the mill, in which Gerard was wounded, and the object not accomplished, finding there could be no success at Wavres and Bielge, and wishing, at all hazards, to move towards Napoleon, he then determined, whatever inconveniences might result, to leave only the corps of Vandamme, and the cavalry of Excelmans, before an army, the strength of which was not well known, and to have the troops of Gerard parallel with the Dyle, towards Limilette, to unite them with the rest of that corps which had marched thither. Grouchy himself repaired to that place with all haste: unhappily the country on the right of the Dyle is intersected with ravines and streams, which fall into the river, and the practicable and customary road between Wavres and St. Lambert is by the left bank, so that the movement of these troops required much time. Meanwhile, Pajol's cavalry, and a division of infantry, crossed the Dyle, and at night they were masters of the first heights on the other side; within cannon shot of which the Prussians had posted themselves—a rough and steep road affords the only passage from the valley, through which the river flows, to the plain, on which the villages of Limale and Limilette are situated. The darkness of the night rendered this ascent slow and difficult, and the space above was not sufficient to enable the troops to display: the enemy also was so near that his balls reached the head of the defile—it is probable that had Grouchy been vigorously pushed, he would have been driven, with loss, to the other side of the Dyle. Thus it was important to drive the enemy on this point, since it would enable him to remove the Prussians opposed to Vandamme, to accomplish his junction with Napoleon, respecting whom, however, he was not uneasy, the letter of Soult giving him to understand that the battle was gained at Waterloo:—he was, however, surprised at hearing nothing more from him, officers and parties having been despatched to procure intelligence. He employed the greater part of the night in preparing for an attack at the break of day,

and notwithstanding all his efforts, he had but a small force on that side of the river when the dawn appeared—the enemy attacked him, was repulsed, and his force increasing, he moved a division towards Bielge, to take that village in flank. This attack forced the Prussians to evacuate it, as well as the part of Wavres occupied by them. Vandamme then passed the Dyle without opposition, the enemy was pursued to Rosierne, in the direction of Brussels, and Grouchy was persuaded that Napoleon, victorious the evening before, was already master of that city. These illusions soon vanished—about 11 o'clock, an officer, despatched by Soult, announced the disasters of Waterloo. Marshal Grouchy then commenced his retreat, in two columns, the success of which was assured by the brilliant defence made by general Vandamme at Namur, on the 20th, where the Prussians, in their attacks, sustained so heavy a loss, that they made no effort to pursue beyond Dinant. The marshal promises hereafter the details of his retreat to Paris, in a more complete work, upon the campaign of 1815, certain indispensable materials for which are yet wanting in the United States. The results of this retreat are known—the hopes of a powerful enemy, in advance of him, on his direct line of communication with the capital, were completely frustrated: the troops under his orders (as well as the fragments of Napoleon's army, which he rallied to his corps at Soissons), were brought back without loss to Paris, and the first idea of the minister of war, in announcing the event to the legislative body, was to propose a decree that Grouchy had deserved well of his country. The foregoing sketch closes the defence against the charges contained in Gourgaud's work. And the exculpation is full and clear, taking only into consideration the time which was suffered to elapse before the pursuit of the Prussians was ordered, and the plain inferences to be drawn from the despatches of marshal Soult, disregarding all the other details given by marshal Grouchy.

The marshal then proceeds to refute the charges brought against him by writers in this country—in these explanations it is unnecessary to follow him, as they contain much repetition and reasoning on the preceding facts. It may be useful, however, to give the following summary of the marshal's:—'When Napoleon ordered me on the 17th, at noon, to pursue the enemy, and, in consequence of the delays of the generals under my orders, their troops did not leave the plains of Fleurus till about three o'clock of that day, the Prussian army was already collected near Wavres. When I reached Wavres between one and two o'clock of the 18th, the Prussian columns were already on the heights of St. Lambert, and in sight of the French army, which was engaged at Waterloo.

'I have just shown that the late hour of the arrival of my troops at Gembloux, and the weather, still more than my slender information as to the real movements of the Prussians, had hindered me from pushing my infantry beyond that town, on the 17th. But on the 18th, before sunrise, it was in motion in the direction of

Saravalain and Wavres, which latter place, the head of the column did not reach, until between one and two o'clock, though it marched without halting an instant. To assert that then I could have paralyzed, by a flank movement, which my proximity to the enemy did not permit me to make, the attack of general Bulow on the right wing of the French at Waterloo, shows ignorance of the position of the Prussian army, which was at this time in echellons, between Napoleon and me—and shows a forgetfulness of distances, of the state of the roads, and the nature of the country; for the Prussian corps which decided the fate of the battle, had marched from Wavres at day-light, and were on the march from four in the morning until one in the afternoon, before they reached the head of the defile of St. Lambert. (See the report of M. Blucher). Thus then, *unless I could have given wings to my soldiers*, it was impossible that they could have arrived in time to be useful at Waterloo.

'To hold in check, as it is asserted I could have done, an army 95,000 strong, with a corps of 32,000 men, was a very difficult task, and it is publishing an erroneous opinion to advance that I could have accomplished it. — On the evening of the 17th, my troops had scarcely reached Gembloux. On the evening of the 17th, marshal Blucher had all his army, except a rear-guard, collected near Wavres—at sunrise on the 18th, Blucher detached from Wavres a part of his troops, for the purpose of forming a junction with the duke of Wellington. At sunrise on the 18th, I was seven hours' march from thence. How could I hinder the detachment, and prevent the junction?

'It cannot be said, with more justice, that marshal Blucher had deceived me, or had concealed from me the movement of a part of his army, as some writers have advanced.—

'1st. Because, not only I was not in position before M. Blucher, when he commenced his movement towards the left of the English army, with the design of turning the right of the French at Waterloo, but, as I have remarked, my troops were at a great distance when this movement was executed.

'2d. Because I did not reach the Prussian rear-guard till the 18th, about noon, a league and a half from Wavres, that town having been occupied during the night by the enemy's corps, which effected, at break of day, the movement in question.'

Some other charges are also noticed by the marshal, but the foregoing abstracts embrace the main grounds on which they are repelled. The object of this sketch of the marshal's work, is merely to do justice to his military conduct, which had been unjustly assailed: and it is unnecessary to touch upon the other parts of his work, in which he defends the conduct of Ney, and casts censures on the arrangements of Napoleon. C.

ART. VI.—*Second Letter from Switzerland.*

[From Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.]

Lausanne, 3d September.

THAT enthusiastic love of her native land, for which madame de Stael was so remarkable, excited in her the strongest desire of returning to it, notwithstanding her courage and her resolutions. After being convinced, however, of the impossibility of doing so, she resolved to pass into England, there to breathe the air of liberty, the only atmosphere indeed which agreed with her.

Among all the states of Europe, England stood highest in madame de Stael's esteem, both on account of its institutions and the character of its inhabitants.

She thus renounced her residence at Coppet, quitting it by stealth, dreading obstacles which might have been thrown in the way of her departure. I was with her at the time, and I think I never saw any thing so sad as the preparations for setting out. They were made secretly, and she forbore to speak of them, the better to conceal the anguish she experienced. This was indeed severe, for she had then reason to fear that her absence might be for ever; and who was ever able to bid a last adieu to the abode of his ancestors without shedding tears of sorrow? In our day, so many have experienced this misfortune, that its nature is fully understood. At Coppet, madame de Stael left the shade of her father, and the neighbourhood of France;—of that France, so famous for its virtues, its crimes, and its achievements.

At this period it was difficult to reach England. Madame de Stael crossed over Germany, in order to go into Russia, without knowing whether she should embark on the Baltic or the Black Sea, for these were now the only seas which were free. She decided however for the north, notwithstanding the attraction which the countries of the east held out to her imagination.

This long journey was completed during the campaign of Moscow. At St. Petersburgh she witnessed the discouragement of the Russians, and the return of that energy which the firmness of the monarch restored to the nation. There she maintained the doctrine of resistance as noble in itself, as the only means of saving the world.

Quitting the capital of Russia, as the season advanced, she embarked for Stockholm, the flames of Moscow illuminating her departure. Whatever was now to be the issue of this great event, it was truly awful, as being in fact more colossal than the world on which it was passing. Every nation of Europe had marched towards the pole, against the will of Heaven, and in these regions, disasters were already foreseen, from which the French alone seemed to conceive themselves exempted; as if Providence had promised an eternal flight to their eagles.

Madame de Stael passed the winter at Stockholm. There she had frequent opportunities of seeing the Crown Prince, having been formerly on terms of intimacy with him. They canvassed

the necessity, and, above all, the possibility of opposing a successful resistance to the destructive designs of Bonaparte. At this period indeed, she exercised a marked influence over the political events of Europe. It had therefore been safer for Bonaparte to have allotted her a residence at Paris than on the frozen ocean; but, happily for the world, tyrants are apt to commit mistakes as well as good men.

After a gloomy winter, during which madame de Stael's health had suffered from the severity of the climate, she departed for England. There she could enjoy that liberty of which she had been so long deprived; and she did enjoy it,—thanks to that spirit which renders it almost as difficult to destroy liberty in England as to establish it elsewhere.

While in England, she published her work on Germany; a work which Bonaparte had seized, because in it she urged the Germans to escape from their historical insignificance, by having recourse to deeds, of which they were so sparing, in place of words, of which they were so prodigal. He had caused it to be seized, because every line of it breathed forth the dignity and independence of man, both of which it was in the nature of his system to proscribe.

This work, of a graver cast than *Corinne*, has added to modern science a very extensive domain, which I shall denominate the Natural History of Nations. Madame de Stael has given us the key of this science, which, in point of importance, ought surely to rank far above that of reptiles and birds.

The sciences have always owed their origin to some great spirit. Smith created political economy—Linnæus, botany—Lavoisier, chemistry—and madame de Stael has, in like manner, created the art of analysing the spirit of nations, and the springs which move them. To whatever extent the advancement of this science may, in the course of time, be pushed, the glory of having been its author must ever remain with madame de Stael.

Her merits, in this respect, will be more gratefully acknowledged by posterity than by her contemporaries. These have not much relished the picture she has drawn of them. Indeed, we always believe ourselves more beautiful than our portraits represent us; and nations who read their history are apt to exclaim, like one of my neighbours, while contemplating his face in a looking glass, 'Heavens! how very ugly these mirrors do make one.'

Madame de Stael's political opinions were confirmed during her residence in England, by habitual intercourse with the Mackintoshes, Lansdownes, and Horners, those heirs of liberty, whose numbers are, alas! so alarmingly decreasing.

She had hardly been a year in England when she beheld the downfall of an empire, which the will of Heaven had raised up and cast down, to serve as an example to mankind.

After the restoration, madame de Stael returned to Paris. That event seemed a recompense to humanity for all she had suffered.

It was the nations of the north who came in their turn, as by a miracle, to establish the peace of the world, and to preserve its civilization. In those institutions which the king had just accorded to the wishes of France, she recognised the political principles in which she had been nursed, and the predominance of which she had, from the commencement of the revolution, sighed for in vain.

She now eagerly attached herself to those institutions so conformable to her views and her wishes. She was happy, too, at finding herself in that city where her life had dawned; and where she regained her friends of all ages and all countries, whom the peace attracted to Paris, as to a general rendezvous.

Fatigued, however, by so much travelling, she quitted the French capital sooner than might have been expected, and being now free to choose her residence, she came to enjoy the repose of Coppet. She returned to inhabit that dwelling which time had rendered pleasant, and with which were associated the image and remembrance of her father. I there saw her again. She was ever the same; for, in the whole course of her life, neither her sentiments nor her opinions changed. These opinions merely acquired additional strength, as experience rendered her more certain of the facts on which they were founded.

Crowds of foreigners now thronged her house. They came to see and to hear her, whose every word darted light into the mind: they came thither also to enjoy happiness under her hospitable roof. I too have often resided under it, and the time I spent there was the happiest of my life. It was not merely that one found in it more knowledge and more wit than might be met with elsewhere; but I was happy because that knowledge and that wit were never employed to diminish the pleasure of existence. Kind good-nature and gayety were alike welcome there. The imagination was always occupied, and the soul experienced that happy feeling which inspires contempt for every thing base, and love for all that is noble.

Lord Byron was one day announced. It was natural that the most distinguished female of our age should desire to know the only poet who has found the poetic muse in our day. Madame de Stael was well acquainted with English, and could appreciate lord Byron in his own tongue. He occupied a country house opposite to Coppet, on the other side of the lake of Geneva. To come thither he crossed that lake, whose aspect inspired his muse with the Prisoner of Chillon.

Madame de Stael, now in a very ailing state, returned to Paris in the month of September, 1816. It was there that this brilliant meteor ceased to shed her life-giving rays on every society. As her soul surpassed her physical strength, she enjoyed, till her last moment, that world which she loved so well, and which will so long regret her; for all places may be filled up but hers, which must ever remain empty.

I had quitted her in the spring to go into Italy, having no idea that we should lose her so soon. There was in her so much of the spirit of life, that half a century seemed insufficient to consume it. I know that, even down to the last days of her life, her house was the centre of union for every thing distinguished in Paris. She knew how to draw out the wit of every one, and those who had but little, might offer that little, without fear, as she never despised it, provided it was natural. Her soul gave and received all impressions. In the midst of two hundred persons, she was in communication with all, and would successively animate twenty different groups. There she exercised the empire of superiority, which no one dared to contest with her. The ascendency of her presence put folly to silence; the wicked and the foolish alike concealed themselves before her. In this way madame de Stael was not only valuable to society for what she did, but for what she prevented.

It was indeed a remarkable blessing of Providence, the having imparted so much talent to a woman. It was the first time we had seen such a phenomenon. As a woman, madame de Stael has exercised an influence upon her age, so much the greater, that the laws of society could not oppose her, because the existence of such a woman had not been anticipated. Madame de Stael was thus able to possess, with impunity, a greater elevation, more eloquence, and more character, than a man could have done in her situation; and for this reason, that she dared to tell the truth; a degree of boldness which men seldom possess, being subject to too many tribunals.

I returned from Italy somewhat uneasy at the news we had there received of madame de Stael, but without being much alarmed by it. I approached Coppet in sadness, for I knew she no longer dwelt in it. Arriving on the 28th July, I stopped, before entering the village, in order to look for a moment into that park where I had so often roamed. I approached those courts which I believed to be deserted, but found them, on the contrary, crowded with people. A miserable ill-clothed rabble were pressing against the railing; I asked them the reason of so great an assemblage? They were come, they said, to assist at the obsequies of madame de Stael, and to receive the last mark of her kindness at her tomb.

I entered by the door of the vestibule which was open. I passed in front of that very theatre in which I had been ten years before; the curtain was down, but that day of emotion, of success, and of life, rushed involuntarily upon my recollection. I thought of it the more keenly, on seeing the domestics in mourning, who were the same I had then known. They took no notice of me, and I remained in the lobby.

I saw the coffin descend, borne by the principal inhabitants of the village, for these old men would not yield up the privilege of carrying her mortal remains to that tomb where her father awaited her. Theirs was no desire to pay homage to her renown, (for of

what importance was that to them?) but to her who had ever been forward to do them kind offices, and who was an object of their love on account of her worth.

Her children, her relations, her friends followed the procession. It had nothing of solemnity but the silence of grief. Foreigners who had never been acquainted with her, lined the way, and bore evidence of the regret of the whole world.

Her coffin was placed at the foot of that where her father reposes, in a monument which had been erected to unite in the same tomb whatever he best loved. This narrow dwelling, which will no more be opened, contains the mortal remains of these friends, whom so strong an affection had linked together. They have again met in Heaven, but nothing can replace them on earth.

ART. VII.—*British Finances.*

[From the Monthly Magazine.]

MR. VANSITTART, on opening his budget on the 20th of April, 1818, stated the annual charges for the two years 1817 and 1818, to be as under:—

	For 1818.	For 1817.
Army	8,970,000	9,412,373
Navy	6,456,800	7,596,022
Ordnance	1,245,600	1,270,690
Miscellaneous	1,720,000	1,795,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	18,392,400	20,074,085
Interest on Exchequer Bills	2,000,000	} 2,230,000
Sinking Fund on ditto	560,000	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	20,952,400	22,304,085
Subsidy to Spain	400,000	Deduct
Deficiency of ways & means }	259,686	21,612,086
for 1817. }		<hr/>
		Shews a
	<hr/>	saving of
	21,612,986	691,999

By this we see that, notwithstanding the reduction of the army and navy, our savings are only about 700,000*l.*; and that by an act of last session, 1,000,000*l.* is to be expended for building new churches, the providing for which, the minister has postponed.

That a great reduction ought and must be made in the expenditure of the army, navy, and ordnance, I shall hereafter show. Next year, in the interest and sinking fund of exchequer bills, a reduction will take place. At present I shall only proceed to show what ways and means the minister has adopted to raise the above sum of 21,612,086*l.*

How the deficiency in the ways and means of last year arose, is shown in the eleventh report of the select committee of finance in

the house of commons. They state the estimated produce of the receipt of the revenue of 1817, and the actual receipts from returns made by the proper offices, as under:—

	Estimate.	Actual Receipt.
Customs	9,340,657	9,761,480
Excise	22,591,364	19,726,297
Assessed Taxes	7,136,864	7,290,849
Stamps	6,132,080	6,337,420
Post Office	1,485,500	1,338,000
Miscellaneous	245,000	492,872
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	46,931,465	44,946,919
Unapplied war duties and property tax	—	2,330,536
		<hr/>
		47,277,455
Irish Revenue	4,973,899	4,388,005
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	51,905,364	51,665,460
	51,665,460	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Deficient	239,304	

This deficiency, although not the exact sum, approximates sufficiently to show how the deficit in the ways and means arises; and, although there appears clearly a defalcation of 2,500,000*l.* on the whole of the permanent taxes, and that the revenue of Ireland is evidently decreasing, yet the committee labour hard to prove, that the future revenue will come up to their estimate. They also seem to forget that the great deficiency is in the excise, a revenue which must ever depend, in a great degree, on consumption, and which, in the present state of the country, cannot be expected to increase rapidly. Even if the revenue of the year 1818 has increased in the manner represented by the ministerial prints, it is scarcely probable it will be permanent.

The 21,612,000*l.* which forms the whole annual charge, the minister thus provides for,—

Annual taxes	3,000,000
Excise war duties continued	3,500,000
Old stores	250,000
Profit on lotteries	250,000
Arrears of property tax	250,000
Profit on exchequer bills	21,448
Loan	3,000,000
Exchequer bills	11,000,000
	<hr/>
	21,271,448

The loan was so closely connected with the plan of the minister for funding 27,272,700*l.* exchequer bills, as to present a very complicated system of finance, which it is proper fully to explain.

Every person subscribing 11*l.* payable by fixed instalments, and transferring 100*l.* three per cent. annuities, into a new stock of

three and a-half per cent. annuities, and also subscribing 100% in exchequer bills, into the three per cent. annuities, shall receive for 11% money, 12% in the new three and a-half per cent. annuity; for his 100% three per cent. whether consolidated or reduced, 88% in the said three and a-half per cent. annuity; and, for his 100% exchequer bill, 68% in the three per cent. annuities reduced, and 68% in the three per cent. annuities consolidated.

By this arrangement, it is evident that the stock transferred from the three per cent. annuity to the three and a-half per cent. causes no increase of the funded debt: but the case is very different as to the exchequer bill; and, for every 100% taken off the unfunded debt, 136% is added to the funded debt.

It now, therefore, remains to show, what effect this will have on the joint debts. As far as respects the unfunded debt, the minister's plan was evidently to take out of circulation a certain quantity of exchequer bills, to enable him to issue new bills for the service of the present year, which he has done to the amount of 11,000,000%; and which, when this operation is complete, will bring the unfunded debt to the following:—

Exchequer bills out January 1, 1818	56,729,400
Treasury debt, English and Irish	7,326,321
Army debt	830,590
Navy debt	1,614,105
Ordnance	169,895
Barracks	2,515

The estimated unfunded debt, January 1, 1818, by Mr. Grant's statement was only	63,732,080
Increase	2,949,546
Add exchequer bills to be issued for the service of 1818	11,000,000

77,681,626

Deduct exchequer bills to be funded by this operation 27,272,630

The unfunded debt, January 1, 1819, will be 50,408,996

By this operation, it is evident the funded debt will be increased as under:—

Total funded debt, January 1, 1818	776,742,403
By 37,272,630% exchequer bills, transferred into three per cent. annuities, at 136 per cent.	34,948,160

Will be, January 1, 1819 811,790,563

Unfunded debt at the same period 50,408,996

862,239,559

These joint debts, as appear by the returns made to the house of commons, January 1, 1818, were,—

Funded	776,742,403
Unfunded	66,681,626

843,424,029

But, from the above, must be deducted the stock which will be purchased by the sinking fund, the state of which it will be now proper to notice.

The actual sinking fund for England and Ireland, and on the imperial and Portuguese loans, was, on the 1st January, 1818, 13,989,736*l*.

To which, we should have to add, the growing interest for the year; but, as the minister has thought proper to take the whole additional charge for his new loans from the sinking fund, which still rather exceed the growing interest, we may fairly estimate the produce of that fund applicable to the reduction of the national debt at 14,000,000*l*., and which, taking the current average price of stock at 70 per cent. will reduce the debt, in the course of the year, as under,—

Gross funded debt	811,790,563
Will be redeemed	20,000,000

Leaves the funded debt	791,790,563
Unfunded	50,408,996

842,199,550

And even, with all the efforts of our boasted sinking fund, produces a reduction of 1,224,476 only.

It is evident the present system cannot continue, and that the minister, although sorely against his will, must reduce his army, reduce the expenditure of the navy, reduce the interest of the national debt, and part of the civil expenditure. In what points these reductions can be made, I shall next endeavour to point out.

ART. VIII.—*Memoir of Wordsworth.*

(From the Monthly Magazine.)

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH was born at Cockermouth, of a highly respectable family, April 7, 1770. At the age of eight years he was sent to Hawkshead school, in that part of Lancashire which is separated from the county to which it belongs, by Westmoreland and the sea. The grammar school of Hawkshead was founded and endowed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, by the venerable Edwin Sandys, archbishop of York, and it has ever been accounted one of the best seminaries in the north of England. Two of its living ornaments are the subject of this sketch, and his brother Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, the present chaplain to the house of Commons, rector of Lambeth, and dean of Bocking; whose extremely acute and erudite letters on the Greek definitive article in confirmation of the late Granville Sharpe's rule, procured him the patronage of the archbishop of Canter-

bury, and the valuable preferments which he now so deservedly enjoys.

The two boys were educated at the same school, and though they had but little similarity of taste, a strong fraternal attachment subsisted between them, of which a striking instance occurred while they were both very young: when one being furiously assailed by a much more powerful lad than himself, the other, with affectionate gallantry, planting himself by the side of his brother, fought with such spirit, that the aggressor was obliged to desist.

Of William, it is said, by those who were his contemporaries at school, that in his classical attainments he was considerably above par, when compared with boys of his own age; while in English composition, both prose and verse, he frequently obtained the distinguished commendation of Mr. Taylor, the head master, who was a man of great critical judgment. The chief delight of the youth, even at a very early age, consisted in reading and reciting passages of the best of our poets. Before the morning hour of repairing to school, he has been often seen and heard in the sequestered lane, either alone, or with a favourite companion, repeating aloud beautiful passages from Thomson's Seasons, and sometimes comparing, as they chanced to occur, the actual phenomena of nature with the description given of them by the poet. At the age of thirteen, his genius was indicated in verses on the vacation, which procured him the praise of the master; but it should seem that this incipient effort did not quite satisfy himself, since we are told that at the next returning season of welcome relaxation from scholastic discipline, he composed another poem on the same subject, which was also applauded by those to whom it was shown. This stirring of the spirit of poesy within, was kept up and invigorated by the romantic scenery which tempted his youthful steps to ramble among the mountains, and along the margin of the lake of Esthwaite, near the school of Hawkshead.

Having laid in a good stock of grammar learning, William Wordsworth removed, in October, 1787, to the university of Cambridge, where he was matriculated a student of St. John's, as his brother, sometime afterwards, was of Trinity College. Here our author continued long enough to complete his degrees in arts, but without aspiring to, or attaining, the academical honours of wrangler or prizeman. During one of the long vacations, he made a pedestrian excursion through part of France, Switzerland, Savoy, and Italy, accompanied by a college friend. Of this tour he wrote an account, under the title of "Descriptive Sketches in Verse," which was printed in 1793; in which year also he published, "An Evening Walk, an Epistle in Verse, addressed to a Young Lady, from the Lakes in the north of England."

Whether Mr. Wordsworth was intended for any of the learned professions, we have not the means of knowing, but if such was the case, he disappointed the expectations of his friends, by leaving

the university altogether soon after his return, and amusing himself in wandering over different parts of the country. At length he took a cottage in the hamlet of Alfoxden, not far from Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, where he either contracted or renewed an intimate friendship with Mr. Coleridge. In this remote part of the kingdom, they lived almost in a state of seclusion, employing their hours either in climbing the Quantock hills, traversing the winding shores of the bay, or in sitting at home, planning literary works. Sometimes, indeed, they visited the only little inn of the village, but here their conversation was above the frequenters of the place, and their character altogether such as to excite surprise and curiosity. At this time the violence of the revolutionary tempest in France occasioned much observation and dispute, not only in the metropolis and large towns, but in every obscure nook and corner of the British isles. Such a subject could not, therefore, fail to be agitated in the public house where our two friends occasionally spent their evenings. Wordsworth had no turn for politics; and was generally silent, but his friend, being at that period a zealous reformist, took such an active part in the questions which arose, as to beget a suspicion, in one person, that these two strangers were spies or incendiaries. This sagacious politician was no other than the lawyer of the village, and having once formed this idea in his fertile brain, it soon acquired the figure and substance of reality. Every action of the sojourners was accordingly watched, by a person employed for the purpose; who, true to his trust, traced their footsteps, and without being seen by them, placed himself in a situation where he could hear their discourse, when they sat upon a craggy cliff observing the dashing of the waves on the beach. Sometimes he would meet them, as it were by accident, in their walks, and by entering into familiar chat with them, draw the conversation on by degrees to politics, merely to catch some clue to a discovery. All these arts, however, produced nothing, and the man, very much to his honour, gave so faithful a report of all his observations, that no farther inquiry was made, nor were the two friends apprised of the snare that had been laid to entrap them, till a long time afterwards, when all suspicion was completely removed.

It was during this retirement on the coast of Somersetshire, that the 'Lyrical Ballads' were planned, and in part written, 'as an experiment,' says Mr. Coleridge, 'whether subjects, which, from their nature, rejected the usual ornaments and extra colloquial style of the poems, in general, might not be so managed in the language of ordinary life, as to produce the pleasurable interest, which it is the peculiar business of poetry to impart.'*

These Ballads, with some other poems, appeared first in one small volume, in 1798, in which year the author and his sister made a tour through part of Germany, where they fell in with Mr. Coleridge, who, through the liberality of the late Mr. Wedgworth,

* *Biographia Literaria*, vol. ii. p. 3.

had been enabled to prosecute his studies in a foreign university. How long the travellers continued abroad, we are not informed, but in 1800, we find Mr. Wordsworth settled at Grassmere, in Westmoreland, where, or at Rydall, in that neighbourhood, he has continued to dwell ever since. In 1803, he married Miss Mary Hutchinson, of Penrith, a young lady of the most respectable connexions and exemplary character, who has brought him five children, of whom three, two sons and a daughter, are still living.—With such inducements to active exertion, and the aid of potent friends, who hold his merits in high estimation, the poet might no doubt have distinguished himself in public life, to the lucrative advantage of his family. But alike indifferent to the temptations of ambition and riches, he seems to have imbibed the spirit of Hooker, who besought his patron to remove him from the bustle and intrigues of the world, to a situation ‘where he might see God’s blessings spring from his mother earth, and eat his bread in peace and privacy.’

The picturesque beauties of Windermere, and the scenery of the neighbourhood, proved more attractive charms than the pleasures of artificial society; and here, in the bosom of a happy circle, our author enjoys the utmost tranquillity, on a moderate income, arising from a patrimonial estate, and the situation of distributor of the stamps for the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, which office he owes to the personal friendship of the earl of Lonsdale.

In 1807, Mr. Wordsworth gave to the public a miscellaneous collection of poems, in two small volumes, of which a new and considerably improved edition made its appearance in the year 1815. Among the many additions which the author thought proper to make to this last impression, were a preface and supplementary essay, both directed to the same object—that of applying his principle of simplicity in composition to every species of poetry.

The next original production of Mr. Wordsworth was of a different cast, and one, that from his turn and habits, could hardly have been expected. This was a bulky political pamphlet, printed in the year 1809, with a title remarkable for its elliptical abruptness and prolixity.—‘Concerning the Relations of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, to each other, and to the common enemy, at this crisis; and specifically as affected by the Convention of Cintra; the whole brought to the test of those principles by which alone the Independence and Freedom of Nations can be preserved or recovered.’

In this performance ministers were censured, not for intermeddling in the affairs of the peninsula, but for neglecting to pour into the heart of Spain all their military resources. The essay is written in an energetic strain, and reflects credit upon the patriotic feelings of the author.

In 1814, Mr. Wordsworth published the first portion of his long-promised performance of 'The Recluse;' in a large and splendid quarto. To this part he gave the title of 'The Excursion;' but of the rest of the work, nothing has yet seen the light, unless the story of 'The White Doe of Rylstone; or, the Fate of the Nortons,' which appeared in the same form in the following year, be considered as an episode of the great poem.

This last piece closes the list of our author's publications, on which we shall observe, that if the character of a man is to be inferred from his literary progeny, that of Mr. Wordsworth is at once stamped with the genuine marks of native excellence; for no liberal reader of his poems can rise from the perusal of them without sentiments of respect for that spirit of virtue which breathes in every line. But we are assured that the poet is one who writes from the heart, and who lives as he writes. They who know him most intimately, speak of him as constantly discharging all the relative duties of the husband, father, and friend, with scrupulous fidelity and the most affectionate tenderness. He is universally esteemed in his neighbourhood, for the benevolence of his disposition, the courteousness of his manners, his readiness to relieve the distressed, and to promote every design calculated for the general benefit. To this summary of pre-eminent talent and substantial worth, we may add, that he is a firm friend to the constitution, which is the same as saying that he is a loyal subject of the king, and a sincere member of the church of England.

ART. IX.—*Lord Ellenborough.*

[From the New Monthly Magazine.]

DIED at his house, in St. James's square, on Sunday evening, the 13th instant, the right honourable *Edmund Law*, LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

This great lawyer was the second son of Dr. Edmund Law, master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and bishop of Carlisle, a prelate of considerable learning and acuteness as a metaphysician, but far from being orthodox in his religious opinions. His eldest son became bishop of Elphin in the father's life time, and the youngest is at present bishop of Carlisle, instances of ecclesiastical dignity in one family rarely, if ever, equalled. The late chief justice was born in 1749, and received his education at the Charterhouse school, for which seminary he ever cherished a great regard. At the age of eighteen, he became a fellow-commoner of his father's college, and in 1771, was third wrangler. The year following he was one of the successful candidates for the member's prize; soon after which, he left the University for the Temple. Upon being called to the bar, he went the northern circuit, where, owing principally to his father's influence and his mother's connexions, he gained considerable practice. The case was different in Westminster Hall, and he had to contend not only with some fortunate

rivals, particularly Mr. now lord Erskine, but to endure the personal dislike of lord Kenyon. In allusion to this enmity and contention, Mr. Law, on one occasion, most aptly quoted these lines of Virgil—

Dicta, ferox, non me tua fervida terrent
—Dii me terrent et *Jupiter hostis*.

But an event occurred which more than compensated for the professional enmity of his brethren, and superiors in the courts below. This was the memorable trial of Mr. Hastings, for whom Mr. Law was employed as the leading counsel, through sir Thomas Rumbold, who had married his sister. This protracted trial brought the powers of the advocate into full play, and those powers could not be slender that had to cope with the combined talents of the commons. Mr. Law was at first despised by the managers, but in a short time he convinced them that they had no ordinary mind to grapple with, and Burke on more occasions than one, felt the force of his arguments in a manner that worked his naturally irascible temper almost to frenzy. Thurlow, from his olympic height, looked down with pleasure upon the legal strife, and when appealed to by the managers, he generally decided in favour of the counsel. One day during these conflicts, a paper was put into the hands of Burke, containing these lines—

Of't have we wonder'd that on Irish ground,
No poisonous reptile has e'er yet been found;
Reveal'd the secret stands of Nature's work,
She saved her venom to create a BURKE!

The effect of this pointed satire was instantly perceived, and though the orator tore the paper, and scattered the pieces about in affected contempt, the operation of the sting was visible in his countenance.

On the advancement of sir John Scott, now lord chancellor, to the Common Pleas, Mr. Law was appointed attorney general; and on the death of lord Kenyon, he was made chief justice of the King's Bench, with a peerage. When Mr. Pitt died, one of the acts of the new administration that excited much observation, was the nomination of his lordship to a seat in the cabinet, but though the propriety of the measure itself was extremely questionable, no one ever brought the slightest imputation upon the noble judge for his conduct in that situation.

Increased infirmities, if not brought on, yet certainly aggravated by intense application to public duties, at length completely undermined a constitution naturally strong; and a short time before his dissolution, finding there were no hopes of a recovery, he resigned an office which he had filled with equal uprightness and ability.

In October 1782, he married Miss Towry, the daughter of commissioner Towry, who survives him, and has issue, 1. Edward, married to Octavia Stewart, youngest daughter of Robert earl of Londonderry. 2. Charles Ewen, married in 1811, Elizabeth Sophia, sister to sir Charles Ethelston Nightingale, of Kamesworth,

in the county of Cambridge. 3. Mary. 4. John. 5. Elizabeth. 6. Anne. 7. A daughter born January 11, 1812.

ART. X.—*Memoir of Sir Philip Francis, K. G. C. B.*

[From the Gentleman's Magazine.]

DECEMBER 22. Died at his house in St. James's square, after having been reduced to a state of extreme debility, by an excruciating disease, with which he had been for several years afflicted, and from which his age precluded all chance of recovery, sir Philip Francis, K. B.—Of this distinguished person the following memoirs cannot fail to be interesting.

He was born in Dublin, October 22, 1740, O. S. Dr. Francis, the translator of Horace, was his father; his grandfather was John Francis, dean of the cathedral of Lismore, in Ireland; and his great grandfather John Francis, dean of Leighlin. The maiden name of his mother was Roe, a descendant from sir Thomas Roe.

Sir Philip received the first rudiments of his education in Ireland. In 1750, he came to England, and was in 1753 placed at St. Paul's school. In 1756, Mr. Henry Fox, afterwards lord Holland, gave him a small place in the secretary of state's office. Mr. Pitt, who succeeded Mr. Fox, patronized him, through the recommendation of his secretary, Robert Wood. By that patronage he was appointed secretary to general Bligh, in 1758, and was present at the capture and demolition of Cherburg. In 1760, he was made secretary to the earl of Kinnoul, ambassador to Lisbon, when the queen of Portugal was married to her uncle. In 1763, he was appointed by the late lord Mendip to a considerable post in the war-office, which he resigned, in the beginning of 1772, in consequence of a difference with viscount Barrington. The greatest part of 1772 he spent in travelling through Flanders, Germany, the Tyrol, France, and Italy. Shortly after his return to England, lord Barrington did him the justice to recommend him to lord North. At that period the situation of our affairs in the east attracted the attention of the nation, and formed a subject of anxious deliberation in the cabinet. The origin of our connexion with India, and the foundation of our establishment there, was commercial. A different system, however, soon began to prevail, and owing to a variety of events, which it is foreign to our present purpose to detail, we soon acquired an immense accession of territory. Our factories were converted into forts, and our merchants into soldiers and statesmen. In this situation of things, it became a question as to the territorial sovereignty of those newly acquired dominions, and it was finally decided that our cabinet should have a permanent jurisdiction. This point being settled, the British government determined to give a new form to our establishments in the east. To avoid the jealousies which had previously subsisted, in consequence of a division of power, it was thought proper to establish a central authority at Calcutta, to which

Madras and the other presidencies should be subject. For this purpose a bill was introduced by lord North, in 1773, containing a variety of regulations, by which the civil government of Bengal was to be vested in a governor-general and council, while the juridical administration was to be confided to a supreme court of judicature.

In conformity to the first of these plans, it was determined to send out three persons of known integrity and talents, not only to enforce the act in question, but also to constitute a majority in the council, by means of which the improvident expenditure of the revenue might be controlled, the grievances of the native powers redressed, the interests of the company benefited, and the English name, which had been but too frequently compromised and tarnished, restored to its wonted lustre.

For the completion of these honourable purposes, two soldiers and one civilian were selected: first, the commander-in-chief, sir John Clavering; secondly, colonel Monson; and lastly, Mr. Philip Francis. Although young, Mr. Francis was selected as the man of business, to organize the plans, direct the proceedings, and regulate the conduct of the whole.

The exertions of this honourable triumvirate, although opposed by the governor-general, and one of the old members (Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell), continued to effect many salutary changes; but the death of colonel Monson in 1776, and of general Clavering in 1777, totally changed the state of affairs. Mr. Francis being now left in a minority, all the improvements of himself and his colleagues were abandoned, and the old system adopted, with an eagerness which reflected but little honour on the faith or stability of the English councils.

The records of his long contest with Mr. Hastings, are preserved in the books of council, the reports of the committee, and in the journals of the house of Commons. This quarrel had previously occasioned a duel in India, when, on the 17th August, 1780, Mr. Hastings shot sir Philip through the body. He left Bengal in December 1780, passed five months at St. Helena, and arrived in England in October 1781. On the dissolution of parliament in 1784, he was elected for Yarmouth, in the isle of Wight. On the 27th July following, he happened to make use of an expression in the house of commons, for which the late Mr. Pitt never forgave him. After speaking of the first earl of Chatham, with all possible honour, he unfortunately added, 'but he is dead, and has left nothing in the world that resembles him.'

In 1786, he moved for leave to bring in a bill to explain the new act, introduced by the new premier, for regulating the affairs of the India company. He seized upon that occasion to condemn many parts of Mr. Pitt's original project, and more especially that obliging persons returning from the east to declare, upon oath, a statement of the amount of their fortunes, which article was after-

wards expunged. The matter under consideration was, however, disposed of by the previous question.

In the session of the year 1788, when Mr. Hastings had delivered in his answer to the articles of impeachment, exhibited in the name of the people of England, at the bar of the house of lords, the commons immediately proceeded to the appointment of a committee who should propose a reply. Upon the name of Mr. Francis being put, a division ensued,—ayes 23—noes 97. This circumstance was highly unacceptable to the original promoters of the prosecution, and called forth a most animated remonstrance on the part of Mr. Burke, the father of the measure.

When the managers were about to be nominated, Mr. Fox seized that opportunity to move that the name of this gentleman might be added. He enumerated the different qualities which he deemed requisite in a person who should become an accuser in the name of the public, and endeavoured to show that all these centered in the gentleman proposed by him.

Mr. Windham, another of the managers, followed Mr. Fox, and delivered his sentiments on the same subject. After some discussion on the proposition, in which Mr. Pitt, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Francis himself, took part, the house divided, and the numbers were in favour of Mr. Francis sixty-two, against him one hundred and twenty-two, on which the name of Mr. Frederick Montague was substituted. But this only afforded a new opportunity to exhibit the merit of that gentleman, for a letter was soon after addressed to him by Mr. Burke, signed by all the managers, requesting his assistance and advice in the important business on which they were then engaged. It was observed, that ‘an exact knowledge of the affairs of Bengal was requisite in every step of their proceedings, and it was necessary that their information should come from sources, not only competent, but unsuspected. They had perused with great attention the records of the company, and they had found there inculcated, on the part of Mr. Francis, wise and steady principles of government, an exact obedience to the authority placed over him, an inflexible integrity in himself, and a firm resistance to all corrupt practices in others; crowned by that uniform benevolent attention to the rights, properties, and welfare of the natives, which had been the leading objects in his appointment. Such conduct, so tried, acknowledged, and recorded, demanded their fullest confidence; and such were the qualities that had excited their wish for his assistance.—They were all unanimous in the sentiments they had expressed, and had therefore pleasure and pride in attesting them under their signatures.’

About this period the public called aloud for a reform in parliament. Mr. Francis, on this occasion, evinced an earnest wish for such a change as might be bottomed on the original principles of that constitution which it was intended to rescue from corruption.

At the general election in 1796, Mr. Francis stood for Tewkesbury, in conjunction with Mr. Moore. Both these gentlemen endeavoured to establish the franchises of the freemen; but their opponents, who advocated the exclusive right of the housekeepers, were returned. In 1802 Mr. Francis proved more fortunate, having been returned for the borough of Appleby, without opposition or expense.

In consequence of his intimate acquaintance with the affairs of the East India company, he lost no opportunity of delivering his opinion on subjects connected therewith, and of advocating those measures which he conceived likely to prove most conducive to the public interests in those distant climes. He invariably reminded the house of commons, and the nation, of the impolicy, as well as injustice, of the frequent wars in India.

In May 1804, he opposed the proposition, 'that the thanks of the house be given to the marquis of Wellesley, and to the officers and soldiers concerned in achieving our late successes in India, &c.' on the principle that the terms were so worded as to include an approbation of the causes of the war. Upon every occasion, in fact, in which India was mentioned, he displayed not alone an intimate knowledge of its origin as an English settlement, but an ardent desire for its welfare.

His exertions, in conjunction with Mr. Wilberforce, for the abolition of the slave trade, were not less active. His sincerity, too, upon this subject, was made manifest from the fact, in his own situation in life, of every motive by which the conduct of men is usually determined, being united and powerfully pressed upon him to engage him to take part against his opinion. Connexions of every sort; friends who were dear to him, and who thought their fortunes were at stake; solicitations from persons to whom he was bound by many ties; and the prospect of advantage to himself and family at a future day to be forfeited or preserved. All these were in one scale, and nothing in the other but the justice of the cause, and the protection of creatures, who would never know that he had endeavoured to serve them, or whose gratitude would never reach him.

On October 29, 1806, his majesty, at the recommendation of lord Grenville, was pleased to invest him with the order of the Bath.

To the labours of speaking in the house of commons, he came rather late in life, and unpractised in the art. Fluency, the *copia verborum*, and *torrens dicendi*, were not his—his speeches were studied, and consequently formal in the delivery, but they were no less studied by him, than they were worthy of being studied by others, for the soundness of the principles, and the excellence of the matter. Of his profound knowledge of the affairs of India, Burke, and others, might be brought to give evidence. These are the words of Mr. Fox: 'I cannot avoid paying that tribute of praise to the industry, perseverance, and clear-sighted policy of

my honourable friend, on questions relative to India, which they so much deserve. In my opinion, there is no one subject of his majesty, or in all his dominions, whose merit with regard to the affairs of India, can be put in competition with that of my honourable friend.'—*Par. Deb. Feb. 25, 1806.* During the administration of Mr. Fox, sir Philip expected to have been sent out governor-general to India, but other interests prevailed, and he lived and died (to use the language of Mr. Burke), 'with no other reward but that inward sunshine of the soul which a good conscience can always bestow.' No man, who like him, was for half a century perpetually in the press, was ever so little known by the public at large. Scarcely a year elapsed, even after he had passed the age allotted to man, without a production from his pen; and he was known, and perhaps only known, in political circles as the ablest pamphlet-writer of the age. A MS. of an historical character, relating to the persons and personages who have figured in the present reign, occupied his care and attention to the latest period. Whenever it appears, it will be found marked by many of the characteristics which so distinguished the best delineations of Tacitus. The works of sir Philip resemble, in one particular, those of lord Bacon, of whom it was said, that 'no man crammed so much meaning into so few words;' or, as Edmund Burke said of his style—'There is no gummy flesh in it.' His language is figurative and expressive in perfection. You never doubt about his meaning. Let the subject be what it may, he makes it plain and intelligible; and this he does with such simplicity of expression, that any man not much used to writing, would be apt to flatter himself he could write just as well on the same topics; *ut quivis speret idem.* The secret of his genius, and force as a writer, he himself discloses in this paragraph:—

'With a callous heart, there can be no genius in the imagination, or wisdom in the mind; and therefore the prayer with equal truth and sublimity says—"Incline our hearts unto wisdom." Resolute thoughts find words for themselves, and make their own vehicle. Impression and expression are relative ideas. He who feels deeply, will express strongly. The language of slight sensations is naturally feeble and superficial.'—*Reflections on the Abundance of Paper, 1810.*

Our readers are aware that the Letters of Junius were attributed to him. It is advisedly, however, that we avoid giving any opinion on this question. Of the work entitled 'Junius Identified,' a very learned judge observed—'If there is any dependence on the law of presumptive evidence, the case is made out.' The article on this subject in the *Edinburgh Review*, seemed to put the question at rest in the affirmative, as did the work of the ingenious discoverer, and all further public debate about the matter. It was an enigma found out, and all interest had ceased. Whether the conclusion come to be right or wrong, will, in all probability, be decided by documents which personal motives may now no

longer operate to conceal. That sir P. Francis was, independent of this question, one of the luminaries of the present reign, will not be denied. His mind was so happily constituted, that it burnt bright to the last; and though he fell full of years, yet the world, as all who knew him will admit, could have better spared many a younger man.

Sir Philip Francis has left a son and two daughters, Mr. Philip Francis, Mrs. Johnson, and Mrs. Cholmondeley. When between seventy and eighty, he married Miss Watkins, the daughter of a clergyman. The disparity of years was great, but the attachment had been of long duration, and his sole motive was to procure a companion worthy of his society, which object he accomplished to the utmost gratification of his hopes.

In person sir Philip was thin, well formed, and above the ordinary stature; his features regular, and his eye keen, quick, and intelligent. His appearance altogether prepossessing, gentlemanly, and dignified. Till within a few years of his decease, he possessed a remarkable degree of activity of body, and his spirits were so mercurial as almost to 'o'er-inform his tenement of clay.' It was a favourite saying of his own, that 'the sword wears out the scabbard;' and it is surprising that in him it did not wear it out sooner. The garrulity of old age was not his portion. Too irritable and impetuous to listen to long narratives, he had, to the last, the good sense and taste never to inflict them on others. It is said that nothing is necessary to please but the inclination, and when it was his inclination, no man was ever more irresistible and triumphant.

The remains of sir Philip Francis was interred December 31, in Mortlake church. His funeral was, *by his express desire*, quite private. His son alone followed him to the grave.

ART. XI.—*Notice of Archibald Campbell*, Author of the Voyage round the World.

[From the Edinburgh Magazine.]

OUR readers cannot have forgotten the name of Archibald Campbell, the poor Scottish seaman, whose account of his voyage round the world was, three or four years ago, noticed at considerable length in the *Quarterly Review*.* This unhappy adventurer's narrative was, in every way, well deserving of the interests which it created at the time of its publication. It was modest and unassuming in its manner, and in its matter, free to a great extent, from the many species of blunders and inaccuracies which are commonly so abundant in the productions of persons in the humble situation of life of Archibald Campbell. At that time, however, its merits could not be quite so fully appreciated as now. Although the apparent candour of the mariner was well qualified to lend credit to all his statements, yet even his benevolent editor abstained from

* See No. XXXI, October, 1816.

expressing himself in any very decided manner respecting their authority, and the same diffidence was, of course, shared by his reviewer. But in the years which have now intervened, the narratives of succeeding voyagers have given perfect confirmation to all the assertions of Campbell, and his story may, therefore, be considered as forming an authentic link in the history of the Sandwich islands, with regard to which, for several years previous to his arrival there, we had received no certain or direct intelligence.

We refer to Campbell's book itself, and the review of it already mentioned, for any information which our readers may require, in order to restore them to a perfect acquaintance with the early and important incidents in his various life. At the time when his book was published, it will be recollected, the sores upon his legs were still in a very distressing condition, owing to the unskilful manner in which they had been amputated, below the ankle, by the Russian surgeon, into whose hands he fell, immediately after they were frostbit. The period of tranquil existence which he had spent in the Sandwich islands, the voyage homewards, and a residence of many months in his native country, had all been found insufficient to remove the irritation of his wounds, and he was still not only a cripple, but an acute sufferer, when he attracted the attention of Mr. Smith, in the Clyde steam boat. The kindness of that excellent person soon enabled him to lay the story of his afflictions before the public, and the success of the book was such, as to furnish a sum far beyond any expectations of Archibald Campbell. Had he remained in this country during the time when the public impression was strongly in his favour, there is reason to believe, that something might probably have been done to provide the means of comfortable retirement to one whose errors, in themselves venial, had been so severely punished in the person of the offender, and had furnished a lesson so capable of doing good to others. Neither Campbell nor his friends, however, entertained, at the moment, any expectations of such a nature, and the poor man, whose patience was quite exhausted, resolved, as soon as he got a little money into his hands, to seek in it the means of being once more transported to the friendly territories of king Tamahmaah, and his own comfortable farm on the banks of the Wymannoo. In the midst of all his distresses, he found leisure for courtship; so he set sail with his wife in the autumn of 1816, for New York, in the hope of finding a passage to Owyhee, on board of some of the American ships, which have, of late years, been almost the only visitors of these islands. On the 23d of December following, he writes as follows, to a medical gentleman in Glasgow (who had shown him much kindness while in that city), 'I am very sorry to inform you that we shall have no opportunity of going to the Sandwich islands this season, the vessels having all left Boston for the northwest coast before our arrival, and it is very likely that there will be no more ships going that way until they return again, which will not be these two years; therefore, I am at a loss what

to do. There is nothing at all doing here in my line,* and times are much worse here than at home, and a great many of the passengers that came out with us have gone home again, not being able to find work of any kind.' He then states his intention to procure, if possible, a passage to the Brazils, where he had been led to believe he might have better success. In the meantime, however, it was announced that some person was about to publish an American edition of his book, which unhandsome procedure, Archibald forthwith took the most effectual method of preventing, by publishing an American edition of it himself. Of this edition, he sold 700 copies in a month, and cleared about 200 dollars on the speculation.

His legs continued all this time to be as troublesome as ever, and Campbell determined to give himself a chance of being a sound cripple, by having them amputated over again, above the ankle. This resolution he carried into effect last winter, with the most perfect fortitude. His right leg was amputated on the 20th of November, 1817, and the bursting of an artery, a few hours after the operation, threw him into a brain fever, from which he escaped with difficulty. 'My whole leg,' says he, 'began from the end of the stump to be inflamed with erysipelas, combined with phlegmatic inflammation, which, luckily for me, turned into a suppuration. I am happy to inform you, that ever since I have been mending so fast, that I was able to go home all last week, and it is only yesterday (January 13, 1818) that I returned to have the other leg cut; and the surgeon says I shall have a better chance of recovery, as my habit is not so full.' The second operation was accordingly performed in a few days after this, and his recovery was even more easy than he had been led to expect. 'As soon as I got out of the hospital,' says he, 'I made myself a pair of artificial legs, with which I already begin to walk pretty tolerably, and am going to Albany, Baltimore, &c. to get subscriptions for the second edition of my book.' (May 18, 1818.)

But during his stay in New York, Campbell has not been an author, publisher, and patient only. He has also been carrying on various little species of traffic, in globe glass mirrors, plaster of Paris casts, Scots almanacks, &c. &c. with various, but, on the whole, not very flattering success. As soon as he shall have sufficiently supplied the transatlantic reading public, with his voyage round the world, Archy, who is a Jack of many trades, purposes to turn another of his talents to a little advantage, and to make a voyage to the Clyde 'to see his friends, in the capacity of cook to a merchantman.' He still, however, has a hankering after his 'steading' in Owyhee; and it is probable that ere long we shall have it in our power to inform our readers that he has come to '*his ain again.*'

We might quote some farther passages from his letters to his friend in Glasgow, but although they are all highly interesting to

* Campbell was bred a weaver.

those who have seen any thing of the man, we are apprehensive of trespassing too far on the patience of the general reader. The letters are written in a clear distinct style, and in a very good penmanship; and his account of the state of things in America, so far as it goes, shows that Alexander has been in his youth, no unattractive or unworthy member of some of the '*literary and commercial*' clubs so common among the weavers of the west of Scotland. His notice of Mr. Cobbet is laconic enough. 'You mention that you could wish to hear about Mr. Cobbet; but I can hear little about him, as there is few people that I have spoken to that likes him, and they say that he cannot be believed: he has an office at No. 19, Wall street, and lives at Brooklyn, a small town in Long Island, forenent New York.' The letters are all concluded in a very polite manner, as thus: 'Be pleased, sir, to give our best respects to your father and sisters, and our compliments to your servant-maids; meantime, we remain, sir, your most obedient and very humble servants, ARCHD. & ISABELLA CAMPBELL.'

We trust our readers will pardon us for detaining them so long with the history of this poor countrymen of ours. Those of them who have read his book will, we are quite sure, be happy in this renewal of their acquaintance with him; for our own parts, we hope he will, on his arrival forthwith, publish a full account of all his adventures during this last voyage. He must now be pretty well initiated into the ways of the booksellers, and we do not see why Mr. Campbell should not succeed as well in his transactions with that slippery generation, as many other authors of greater pretensions.

ART. XII.—*Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*, during the Years 1799-1804. By Alexander de Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland. Vol. IV. London, 1819. 8vo. pp. 573.

[From the Journal of the Belles Lettres.]

TO announce a new volume of M. de Humboldt's journey, is to announce a work distinguished for philosophical research, for indefatigable adventure in quest of knowledge, for striking incident as a mere book of travels, and for an infinite store of new facts and discoveries in every branch of moral, political, and natural history. This is so well known to the reading world, that we shall not waste a word upon the subject; but simply take this opportunity of bearing testimony to the great truth and accuracy of the author's statements, which we are enabled particularly to do in the present instance on the authority of a friend, who, having travelled over much of the same ground, assures us, from his experience, that M. de Humboldt's narrative is remarkable not only for the extent of its information, but for the unvarnished fidelity with which his subjects are described.

We confess, however, that we dislike this tardy mode of bringing out publications. Like the travellers, we should be glad to

know when we set out how far we are going; and as we proceed, where our voyage is to end. But when volume follows volume, with intervals of years between, much of the spirit certainly evaporates, and we have always a suspicion that the library at home is a great eker out of the memoranda abroad. M. de Humboldt, however, is so instructive and pleasing, that we ought not to complain of this practice when writing about him.

With regard to the new volume, we shall not analyse it, but select such parts as seem most curious, trusting that the well-earned reputation of the author will render further praise unnecessary. Carraccas, with its productions and wonders, the Rio Apure, the Rio Oroonoko, and the circumjacent territory, form entirely the subject of this very interesting portion of M. de Humboldt's work.

When at Calabozo, the travellers endeavoured to obtain and examine the gymnotus, or electrical eel, abounding in the stagnant basins in that vicinity, but could not succeed in pursuing the inquiry. The following extraordinary scene is described:—

‘Impatient of waiting, and having obtained very uncertain results from an electrical eel that had been brought to us alive, but much enfeebled, we repaired to the Cano de Bera, to make our experiments in the open air, on the borders of the water itself. We set off on the 19th of March, at a very early hour, for the village of Rastro de Abaxo; thence we were conducted by the Indians to a stream, which, in the time of drought, forms a basin of muddy water, surrounded by fine trees, the clusia, the amyris, and the mimosa, with fragrant flowers. To catch the gymnoti with nets is very difficult, on account of the extreme agility of the fish, which bury themselves in the mud like serpents. We would not employ the *barbasco*, that is to say, the roots of *piscidea erithryna*, *jacquinia armillaris*, and some species of *phyllanthus*, which thrown into the pool, intoxicate or benumb these animals. These means would have enfeebled the gymnoti; the Indians, therefore, told us, that they would “fish with horses,” *embarbasco con cavallos*. We found it difficult to form an idea of this extraordinary manner of fishing; but we soon saw our guides return from the savannah, which they had been scouring for wild horses and mules. They brought about thirty with them, which they forced to enter the pool.

‘The extraordinary noise caused by the horses’ hoofs, makes the fish issue from the mud, and excites them to combat. These yellowish and livid eels, resembling large aquatic serpents, swim on the surface of the water, and crowd under the bellies of the horses and mules. A contest between animals of so different an organization, furnishes a very striking spectacle. The Indians, provided with harpoons, and long slender reeds, surround the pool closely; and some climb upon the trees, the branches of which extend horizontally over the surface of the water. By their wild cries, and the length of their reeds, they prevent the horses from

running away, and reaching the bank of the pool. The eels, stunned by the noise, defend themselves by the repeated discharge of their electric batteries. During a long time they seem to prove victorious. Several horses sink beneath the violence of the invisible strokes, which they receive from all sides, in organs the most essential to life; and stunned by the force and frequency of the shocks, disappear under the water. Others, panting, with mane erect, and haggard eyes, expressing anguish, raise themselves, and endeavour to flee from the storm by which they are overtaken. They are driven back by the Indians into the middle of the water; but a small number succeed in eluding the active vigilance of the fishermen. These regain the shore, stumbling at every step, and stretch themselves on the sand, exhausted with fatigue, and their limbs benumbed by the electric shocks of the gymnoti.

‘In less than five minutes two horses were drowned. The eel, being five feet long, and pressing itself against the belly of the horses, makes a discharge along the whole extent of its electric organ. It attacks at once the heart, the intestines, and the *plexus cæliacus* of the abdominal nerves. It is natural, that the effect felt by the horses should be more powerful, than that produced upon man, by the touch of the same fish, at only one of his extremities. The horses are probably not killed, but only stunned. They are drowned, from the impossibility of rising amid the prolonged struggle between the other horses and the eels.

‘We had little doubt, that the fishing would terminate by killing successively all the animals engaged; but by degrees the impetuosity of this unequal combat diminished, and the wearied gymnoti dispersed. They require a long rest, and abundant nourishment, to repair what they have lost of galvanic force. The mules and horses appear less frightened; their manes are no longer bristled, and their eyes express less dread. The gymnoti approach timidly the edge of the marsh, where they are taken by means of small harpoons, fastened to long cords. When the cords are very dry, the Indians feel no shock in raising the fish into the air. In a few minutes we had five large eels, the greater part of which were but slightly wounded. Some were taken by the same means toward evening.

‘The temperature of the waters, in which the gymnoti habitually live, is from 26° to 27° . Their electric force diminishes, it is said, in colder waters; and it is remarkable, that in general, as a celebrated naturalist has already observed, animals endowed with electromotive organs, the effects of which are sensible to man, are not found in the air, but in a fluid that is a conductor of electricity. The gymnotus is the largest of electrical fishes. I measured some, that were from five feet to five feet three inches long; and the Indians assert, that they have seen still longer. We found, that a fish of three feet ten inches long, weighed twelve pounds. The transverse diameter of the body, without reckoning the anal fin, which is elongated in the form of a keel, was three inches five lines. The gymnoti of Cano de Bera, are of a fine olive green.

The under part of the head is yellow, mingled with red. Two rows of small yellow spots are placed symmetrically along the back, from the head to the end of the tail. Every spot contains an excretory aperture. In consequence, the skin of the animal is constantly covered with a mucous matter, which, as Volta has proved, conducts electricity twenty or thirty times better than pure water. It is in general somewhat remarkable, that no electrical fish, yet discovered (of which there are only seven), in the different parts of the world, is covered with scales.'

The following is an extraordinary picture of the scenery on the river Apure, down which our travellers went in a boat to the Oroonoko.

'Sometimes the river is bordered by forests on each side, and forms a straight canal a hundred and fifty toises broad. The manner in which the trees are disposed is very remarkable. We first find bushes of *sauso*, forming a kind of hedge four feet high; and appearing as if they had been clipped by the hand of man. A copse of cedars, *brazillettos*, and *lignumvitæ*, rises behind this hedge. Palm-trees are rare; we saw only a few scattered trunks of the thorny *piritu* and *corozo*. The large quadrupeds of those regions, the tigers, tapirs, and pecaris, have made openings in the hedge of *sausos*, which we have just described. Through these the wild animals pass, when they come to drink at the river. As they fear but little the approach of a boat, we had the pleasure of viewing them pace slowly along the shore, till they disappeared in the forest, which they entered by one of the narrow passes left here and there between the bushes. I confess that these scenes, which were often repeated, had ever for me a peculiar attraction. The pleasure they excite, is not owing solely to the interest which the naturalist takes in the objects of his study; it is connected with a feeling common to all men, who have been brought up in the habits of civilization. You find yourself in a new world, in the midst of untamed and savage nature. Now it is the jaguar, the beautiful panther of America, that appears upon the shore; and now the *hocco*, with its black plumage and its tufted head, that moves slowly along the *sausoes*. Animals of the most different classes succeed each other. "*Esse como en el Paraíso*," said our pilot, an old Indian of the missions.

'When the shore is of considerable breadth, the hedge of *sauso* remains at a distance from the river. In this intermediate ground we see crocodiles, sometimes to the number of eight or ten, stretched on the sand. Motionless, the jaws opened at right angles, they repose by each other, without displaying any of those marks of affection observed in other animals that live in society. The troop separates as soon as they quit the shore. It is, however, probably composed of one male only, and many females; for, as Mr. Descourtils, who has so much studied the crocodiles of Saint Domingo, observed before me, the males are rare, because they kill one

another in fighting, during the season of their loves. These monstrous reptiles are so numerous, that throughout the whole course of the river, we had, almost at every instant, five or six in view. Yet at this period, the swelling of the Rio Apure was scarcely perceived; and consequently hundreds of crocodiles were still buried in the mud of the savannahs. About four in the afternoon we stopped to measure a dead crocodile, that the waters had thrown on the shore. It was only sixteen feet eight inches long; some days after, Mr. Bonpland found another, a male, twenty-two feet three inches long. In every zone, in America as in Egypt, this animal attains the same size. The species so abundant in the Apure, the Oroonoko, and the Rio de la Magdalena, is not a *cayman*, or alligator, but a real crocodile, with feet dentated at the external edges, analogous to that of the Nile. When it is recollected, that the male enters the age of puberty only at ten years, and that its length is then eight feet, we may presume, that the crocodile measured by Mr. Bonpland, was at least twenty-eight years old. The Indians told us, that at San Ferando, scarcely a year passes without two or three grown-up persons, particularly women who fetch water from the river, being drowned by these carnivorous lizards. They related to us the history of a young girl of Uritucu, who by singular intrepidity and presence of mind, saved herself from the jaws of a crocodile. When she felt herself seized, she sought the eyes of the animal, and plunged her fingers into them with such violence, that the pain forced the crocodile to let her loose, after having bitten off the lower part of her left arm. The girl, notwithstanding the enormous quantity of blood she lost, happily reached the shore, swimming with the hand she had still left.

‘The movements of the crocodile of the Apure, are abrupt and rapid when it attacks any object; but it moves with the slowness of a salamander, when it is not excited by rage or hunger. The animal in running, makes a rustling noise, that seems to proceed from the rubbing of the scales of its skin against one another. In this movement it bends its back, and appears higher on its legs than when at rest.

‘Crocodiles are excellent swimmers; they go with facility against the most rapid current. It appeared to me, however, that in descending the river, they had some difficulty in turning quickly about. A large dog, that had accompanied us in our journey from Caraccas to the Rio Negro, was one day pursued in swimming by an enormous crocodile, which had nearly reached him, when the dog escaped its enemy by turning round suddenly, and swimming against the current. The crocodile performed the same movement, but much more slowly than the dog, which happily gained the shore.

‘The crocodiles of the Apure find abundant nourishment in the chiguiries (the thick-nosed tapir of naturalists), which live fifty or sixty together, in troops on the banks of the river. These unfortunate animals, as large as our pigs, have no weapons of defence;

they swim somewhat better than they run: yet they become the prey of the crocodiles in the water, as of the tigers on land. It is difficult to conceive, how, persecuted by two powerful enemies, they can become so numerous; but they breed with the same rapidity as the cobayas, or little guinea-pigs, which come to us from Brazil.'

ART. XIII.—"Mathews' At Home."

[From the Literary Gazette.]

THIS admirable mime having had a trip to Paris, has returned from *abroad* with a new budget of entertainment wherewith to be *at Home*. With this change of performance, it is *our* duty to be pleased, since it accords with the counsel we presumed to offer to the performer last season. But even without that recommendation, we think he must be very stoical who could resist the laughter-moving melange which is now presented at the English opera house. We will shortly describe it.

The *first part* consists of a poetical poem; in delivering which, Mr. Mathews is not so pre-eminently successful, as his talent does not lie either in the melody of song, or powers of distinct recitation. As all the world goes to Paris, he resolves to go thither also, enters the diligence in London, paints his fellow travellers, &c. and after sundry zig-zags, arrives at Dover. The examinations at the custom-house over, and some odd contraband articles detected, the 'delights of the packet' are said and sung. Here the scene is wonderfully diverting. The account of the passengers, and the various effects of nausea, not carried to a disgusting pitch, are exquisitely imitated. In *part second*, the voyagers land at Calais, are astounded by the jabber around, and amazed at hearing the little children speak French. Several commissioners (*commissioinaires*) are polite to our humorous traveller, and it is some time before he finds out that persons under this sonorous title are runners of errands. From Calais to Paris, his route is by Boulogne, Montreuil, Nampont, (Sterne's Nampont, which has received more celebrity from one *one dead ass*, than other towns receive from *hundreds of living ones*!) Abbeville and St. Denis. At Abbeville he meets with an unfortunate countryman, 'poor Mr. Rogers,' who is returning to England under a medical prescription, to avoid the slightest irritation of his nerves, and who is accompanied thus far by his particular friend monsieur Denise, who torments him to death, by correcting his pronunciation of the French tongue. Taking an affectionate leave of his orthoepical persecutor, who is to retrace his way to Paris, by the coach, at three o'clock in the morning, the exhausted and forgiving Englishman retires to bed, in the same room with Mathews. Between two and three, the latter is roused by a loud knocking, and inquiring what is wanted, is answered, 'Not you, do not take the trouble to awake, I want my friend monsieur Rogers, and have woke seven gentlemen already, one of which is not him!' It is the accurate Denise, who cannot

depart till he has disturbed the slumbers of the poor invalid, to set him right in his last words on the preceding evening, '*Adieu, Denise,*' which he unhappily pronounced '*Adjew, Dennis.*'

St. Denis is so called from its patron, who walked thither from Paris, after decapitation, with his head under his arm; a feat not so marvellous, as the distance is only five miles, and the road excellent! At the capital, of the entrance into which, a description combining much force and truth with whimsical remark is given, our tourist resides in Meurice's hotel, which is quite an English colony. Here he hires an Irish *Valet de Place*, and becomes intimate, pro tempore, with his fellow lodgers, Mr. Daniel Dowgate, Mrs. Loquax, Mr. Marmaduke Minikin, &c. &c. These are his companions to *see the lions*, and their various characters, remarks, and adventures, fill up the second and third parts. In Mr. Dowgate, we recognized an admirable imitation of a well-known character in the festive circles of London, with whom we were acquainted; and his many friends will, without displeasure, see the amusing eccentricities revived of the respectable Mr. James Whittle of Fleet street. His John Bull-ism, his 'classical' phraseology, his 'catch the idea,' and other bye-words, his look, voice, action, and even way of thinking, are all executed with surprising felicity. From this specimen, we should presume that all the other characters are drawn from *individual* life, were we not convinced of it by the truth and *individuality* of the portraiture. Among the Parisian scenes, we can only designate a few of the most striking; a visit to the catacombs, and a lecture on craniology, by a professor with a long German name, pro Spurzheim: a day at Meurice's, a humorous song, with comic recitations, in Mr. M's best style: a visit to the theatre, and burlesque imitation of Talma's Hamlet; the boulevards, and a rencontre with a sad traveller, Mr. Mundungus Trist, whom every thing afflicts, who cannot even be sick at sea, as he wishes, like other people, who is full of tribulation, and, among the rest, has to 'go home to his wife,—it must be so:' sir John and lady Munchausen, aimed at lady Morgan and her travels: the old Scotch woman in Paris, with a good story of her husband telling his 'worthy coadjutor, maister Henry,' who wished he was dry when 'dreeping wi wet' from the rain on his way to preach, to 'gang to the pupit, for *there* he would be *dry enough*:' and, finally, a lecture on England and the English language, by Mr. Denise. This lecture is a droll satire upon the herd of French tourists in England, like whom, Mr. Denise, who had been a prisoner of war at Portsmouth, is fond of drawing general conclusions from particular facts, in which his want of knowledge of our language, causes him to make confounded mistakes. For example, one branch of his discourse is, that 'all the people of England are *boxeurs*. When I look from my littel vindo in de prison at Portismout, I see de ladies box, and de gentlemens box, and sometime de ladies and gentlemens box the one wit de oder. Den I read in de paper dat de duchess of B—, de earl of C—, and lady G—, and lord F—,

all go to box at de opera. Wen de man is tried for any crime, de witness box; and if he be found guilty, de jury box. One day every body box—it is Crissmas day wen de washman, de beadies, de shurshwardens, de constables, and all de parish box one house after anoder. So you see de Anglois are a nation des boxeurs.' Our countrywoman, Mrs. Loquax, blunders in the same way; for she visits a lady who has a *sore-eye* (soirée) every Monday evening, which Dowgate advises to be well-washed every Tuesday morning.

In the *fourth part* we have the Paris diligence, in which eight characters are well supported by this single actor. It is an amazing effort, and, we imagine, unexampled as a piece of mimicry. Altogether, the performances are, however, too long; and there is a little ennui between the fits of laughter, which may be most advantageously spared. The theatre, on Monday, was crowded in every part.

ART. XIV.—*Historical Sketch of the Siege of Fort Meigs.*

[Communicated by an Officer of the Kentucky Militia.]

AFTER the termination of the campaign of 1812, and immediately after the defeat at the river Raisin, general Harrison determined on fortifying a position at the foot of the Rapids, for the security of the small posts in the rear, and to facilitate the objects of the ensuing campaign. This position was denominated camp Meigs, and if well fortified, was deemed the most eligible that could be selected, as it was indispensably necessary as a depot for the artillery, military stores, and provisions. 'Towards the latter part of April, the enemy was frequently discovered in small parties about the fort, by the scouts sent out by the general; on the 26th, his advance was discovered at the mouth of the bay; and the 27th, as captain Hamilton was going down the river with a small reconnoitring party, he discovered the whole force of the British and Indians, approaching within a few miles of the fort;' and in the evening of the same day, the fishermen were fired on, and the fort immediately invested by the Indians—the hideous yells of the savages—the incessant roar of musketry—the whistling balls, and dropping lead, had become as general as the determination to defend, had become universal. The position of the rifle battery was occupied by the Indians, much to our disadvantage, being within about two hundred yards of the fort, and immediately behind an abrupt point. An express was now sent to general Clay, who was then at fort Defiance, with his brigade, consisting of Dudley's and Boswell's regiments (except the companies of Duvall, Baker, and Sebree, who reached the Rapids before the arrival of the enemy). 'This perilous journey was undertaken by captain Oliver, accompanied by a single white man and an Indian. Presently the gunboats of the enemy came in view down the river, and approached to the site of the old fort Miami, on the opposite side from camp Meigs; landed, mounted their guns, and transported their allies to the southeast side of the river.'

The British had established their main camp about a mile and a half down the river, at the place of their landing; and in the night they had commenced three batteries, and afterwards a fourth, opposite the fort, and on a high bank about 300 or 400 yards from the river. Two of them were gun-batteries with four embrasures, and one with two, and a bomb-battery. They had progressed so far in the night, that they were now able to work on them in day-light. A fire, however, was opened upon them from the fort, which considerably impeded their progress.—It was under the direction of captain Wood, the senior officer of the engineers; captain Gratioll being unwell, but able, occasionally, to take charge of a battery. The ground had been covered by a very heavy forest of oak and beech trees, which had been cleared away by immense labour, to the distance of two or three hundred yards from the lines—some scattering trees still remained, and the trunks of others were lying on the ground. Behind these and the stumps, the Indians would creep up within shooting distance, and in several instances were able to do some execution; but in general they suffered most themselves. On the left the trees had not been felled to so great a distance, and these the savages mounted into their tops with the utmost agility, and from these elevated stations, were able to send forth tremendous volleys of musketry.

The enemy continued diligently to labour in their batteries. On the morning of the 30th, they were ready to fix their cannon, which they accomplished under a warm fire from the fort, by which they lost several men. A number of boats, loaded with British as well as Indians, were then seen crossing to the southeast side, which led the general to suspect that they intended to amuse him with their batteries, while they should attempt to storm his works in an opposite direction. Orders were given for the troops who were not on duty, to rest with their muskets in their arms, so as to be ready at a moment's warning to take their posts. On the morning of the first of May, it was discovered that the British batteries were completed; and about 10 o'clock they appeared to be loading, and adjusting their guns on certain objects in the camp. By this time our troops had completed a grand traverse, about twelve feet high, upon a base of twenty feet, 300 yards long, on the most elevated ground, through the middle of the camp; there were two traverses, calculated to ward off the shot of the enemy's batteries. Orders were given for all the tents in front to be instantly removed into the rear, which was effected in a few minutes—and then the beautiful prospect of cannonading and bombarding our lines, which but a moment before had excited the skill and energy of the British engineer, was now entirely fled; and in its place, nothing was to be seen but an immense shield of earth, which entirely obscured the whole army—not a tent, nor a single person was to be seen. Those canvass houses, which had concealed the growth of the traverse from the view of the enemy, were now protected and hid in their turn. The prospect of *smoking us out*, was now at best but

very faint. But as neither general Proctor nor his officers were yet convinced of the folly and futility of their laborious preparations, their batteries were opened, and five days were spent in arduous cannonading and bombarding, to bring them to this salutary conviction. A tremendous cannonade was kept up all the rest of the day, and shells were thrown till eleven o'clock at night. Very little damage, however, was done in the camp, one or two were killed, and three or four wounded—among the latter was major Amos Stoddard, of the first regiment of artillery; a revolutionary officer of much merit. He was wounded slightly with a piece of shell, and about ten days afterwards died of the locked-jaw. The fire of the enemy was returned from the fort with our 18 pounders, with some effect, though but sparingly—for the stock of 18 pound shot was but small, there being but 360 of that size in the fort when the siege commenced, and about the same number for the 12 pounders. A proper supply of this article had not been sent with the artillery from Pittsburg. The battery of the enemy supplied us with 12 pound shot; but they had no eighteens, all their large guns being twenty-fours. On the second day they opened their fire with great fury, and continued it all day, but without any better effect. It was apprehended in camp, that the enemy, finding he could not effect his object by his first plan of attack, would transfer his guns to the other side of the river, and establish batteries upon the centre or flanks of the camp—works calculated to resist him in such an event, had, therefore, been undertaken, and were already in a state of forwardness. On the 3d, about 11 o'clock, our expectations were verified. Three pieces and a howitzer were suddenly opened on the camp from the bushes on the left. But they were soon silenced, and compelled to change their position, by a few eighteen pound shot from our batteries. They resumed their fire again on the same side, but with no important advantages. On this day, however, they did rather more execution from their fire on every side, than they had done before.

On the 4th their fire was again renewed, but with less vehemence and vivacity. Those who were serving their guns appeared to move as if they were executing orders which they disapproved, and making exertions which they knew would fail—and to depress them still more, the troops in camp, when their fire was not very brisk, would show themselves above the intrenchments and give three cheers, swinging their hats in the air. On the first three days, the fire of the enemy was incessant and tremendous; five and eight inch shells, and 24 pound shot had fallen in showers in the camp. Our batteries, at different times, had been served with great effect, as was afterwards acknowledged by some of the principal officers of the enemy. But the scarcity of ammunition, and not knowing how long the siege might continue, had compelled us to economise our fire. The approach of general Clay at this crisis, with a reinforcement of twelve hundred Kentuckians, requires our attention. Capt. Oliver, the express sent from camp, found him at fort Win-

chester (Defiance), at which place the cannonading at the siege was distinctly heard. On the 4th, the general was ready to descend in eighteen flats, the sides of which were raised high enough to cover his men from the fire of the Indians on the banks. Major David Trimble, who had accompanied him from Kentucky, voluntarily tendered his services to precede the detachment, in a barge with fifteen men, accompanied by captain Oliver, and Joseph Taylor, Esq. to apprise general Harrison of their approach. To penetrate to the camp, thus exposed in an open boat, was deemed extremely hazardous. Such an attempt had already been made by captain Leslie Combs, who was sent down in a canoe with five or six men, by colonel Dudley, on his arrival at Defiance. The captain had reached within a mile of the fort, when he was attacked by the Indians, and compelled to retreat, after bravely contending with superior numbers, till he had lost nearly all his men. It was the intention of general Clay to leave Defiance about twelve o'clock, and reach camp Meigs in the night, or at least by daylight in the morning; but it was late in the evening before he got in motion, and when he arrived at the head of the Rapids, eighteen miles above the camp, the moon had gone down, and it was so dark and rainy, that his pilot refused to conduct him through them before day—he was, therefore, compelled to encamp till morning. Major Trimble reached the fort about midnight, and informed general Harrison that the detachment, eleven hundred strong, would probably arrive about daylight. Harrison determined to make a general sally against the enemy, on general Clay's arrival, for which he made preparations at camp, and despatched captain Hamilton and a subaltern, with the necessary orders to general Clay. Capt. Hamilton proceeded up the river in a canoe, and met the detachment five miles above the fort, at daylight, and immediately delivered the following orders to general Clay.—‘ You must detach about 300 men from your brigade, and land them at a point I will show you, about a mile or a mile and a half above camp Meigs. I will then conduct the detachment to the British batteries, on the left bank of the river. The batteries must be taken, the cannon spiked, and carriages cut down; and the troops must then return to their boats and cross over to the fort. The balance of your men must land on the fort side of the river, opposite the first landing, and fight their way into the fort through the Indians. The route they must take will be pointed out by a subaltern officer, now with me, who will land the canoe on the right bank of the river, to point out the landing for the boats.’ The general was also informed, that the British force at their batteries was inconsiderable, the main body being at their camp a mile and a half further down, and that the Indians were chiefly on the same side with the fort. As soon as captain Hamilton had delivered the orders, general Clay, who was in the thirteenth boat from the front, directed him to go to colonel Dudley, with orders to take the twelve front boats and execute the plans of general Harrison on the left bank, and to post

the subaltern with the canoe, on the right bank, as a beacon for his landing.

General Harrison intended, while the detachment under Dudley was destroying the batteries on the north side, and general Clay was fighting the Indians above the fort, to send out a party to destroy the batteries on the south side; but his plans were marred in the execution. General Clay ordered the five boats remaining, with the one he occupied, to fall into a line after his; and in attempting to do it, they were driven on shore, and thus thrown half a mile in the rear. The general kept close to the right bank, intending to land opposite to the detachment under Dudley; but finding no guide there, and the Indians having commenced a brisk fire on his boat, he attempted to cross to the detachment. The current was, however, so swift, that it soon carried him too far down for that project; he, therefore, turned back, and landed on the right bank further down. Captain Peter Dudley, with a part of his company was in this boat, making in the whole upwards of 50 men, who now marched into camp without loss, amidst a shower of grape from the British batteries, and the fire of some Indians. The boat, with the baggage and four sick soldiers, was left, as the general supposed, in the care of two men who met him at his landing, and by whom, he expected, she would be brought down under the guns of the fort. In a few minutes, however, she fell into the hands of the Indians. The attempt which he had made to cross the river, induced colonel Boswell, with the rear boats to land on the opposite side; but as soon as captain Hamilton discovered the error under which he acted, he instructed him to cross over and fight his way into camp. When he arrived at the south side, his landing was annoyed by the Indians; and as soon as his men were on shore, he formed them and returned the fire of the enemy: at the same time he was directed by captain Shaw, from the commanding general, to march in open order through the plain to the fort. As there was a large body of Indians on his flanks, general Harrison determined to send out a reinforcement from the garrison, to enable him to beat them. Major Alexander's battalion, composed of the Pittsburg blues, the Petersburg volunteers, &c.; major Johnson, with a part of his battalion, and the companies of captains Nearing, Dudley, Simmons, and Metcalf, were ordered to prepare for this service. Simmons and Metcalf were not in the fort at this time, but with colonel Boswell. They were ready to join the Kentuckians as they arrived at the gates of the fort. Colonel Boswell then formed his men on the right; major Alexander on the left, and Johnson in the centre. Major Johnson was afterwards out at this time, he was at the head of a battalion, fighting in the fort. In this order they marched against the Indians, and drove them at the point of the bayonet, though much superior in numbers, to the distance of half a mile into the woods. The greatest ardour was displayed by the troops, and when it became necessary to return, it was with the utmost difficulty that the offi-

cers of the Kentucky detachment could restrain their men from the pursuit. General Harrison had taken his position upon a battery to watch with a glass, the various operations which at this moment claimed his attention. He discovered a body of British and Indians filing along the edge of the woods, to fall on the rear and left of the corps under Boswell. He immediately despatched John T. Johnson, Esq. his volunteer aid, to recall them from the pursuit. His horse was killed under him before he could reach the detachment. The order was then repeated by major Croghan, and the reluctant, though necessary retreat, was at last commenced; the Indians then rallied and pursued them some distance, doing more execution while our men were retreating, than they had done in all the rest of the contest. The detachment under colonel Dudley, in the mean time, had made their appearance, at the batteries on the other side of the river, and were performing their share in the operations of this *eventful day*—but before we direct our attention to them, we will go through the occurrences on the south side. General Harrison now ordered a sortie from the fort, under the command of colonel John Miller, of the regulars, against the batteries which had been erected on that side (the south side). This detachment was composed of the companies, and parts of companies, commanded by captains Langham, Croghan, Bradford, Nearing, Elliott, and lieutenants Gwynne and Campbell, of the regulars; the volunteers of major Alexander's battalion, and captain Sebree's company of Kentucky militia. The whole amounted only to 350 men. Colonel Miller, accompanied by major Todd, led on his command with the most determined bravery; charged upon the British, and drove them from their batteries; spiked their cannon, and took forty-one prisoners, including an officer; two officers having completely beaten and driven back the whole force of the enemy. That force consisted of 200 British regulars, 150 Canadians, and 500 Indians, being considerably more than double the force of the brave detachment which attacked them; but our troops charged with such irresistible impetuosity, that nothing could withstand them.

In this sortie, in which all the troops engaged were distinguished for their good order, and their intrepid, impetuous bravery, the militia company of captain Sebree was particularly noticed by the general, for its uncommon merit—with the characteristic ardour of the Kentuckians, they rushed into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and were for some time entirely surrounded by the Indians—they still bravely maintained their ground against more than four times their number—but they must ultimately have been cut to pieces, had not lieutenant Gwynne, of the 19th regiment, boldly charged upon the Indians with a part of captain Elliott's company, and released them from their desperate situation. The British and Indians suffered severely, and were routed in great confusion; and a few more men would have enabled the general to disperse and capture the whole force of the enemy remaining on the south

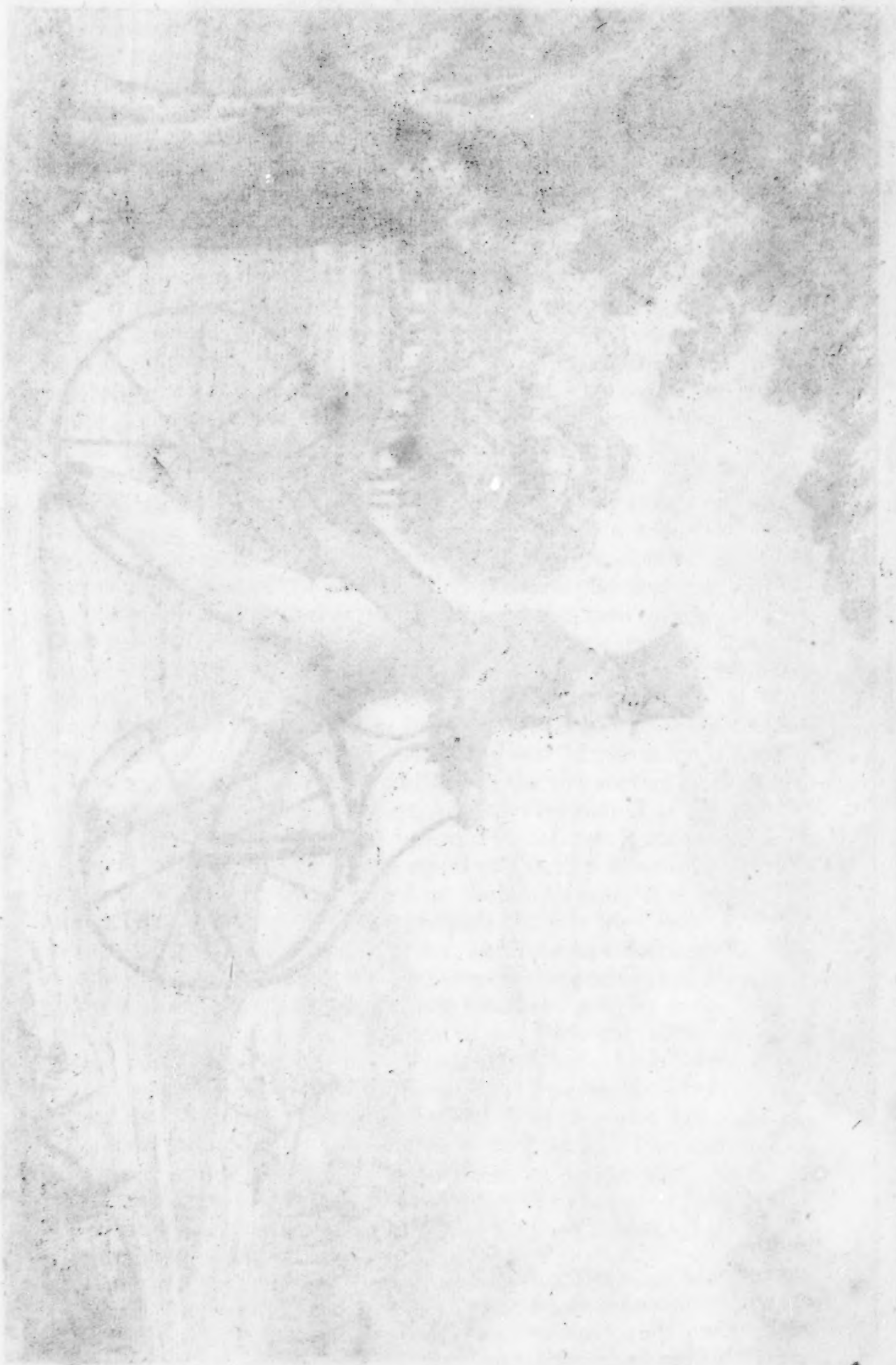
side of the river. Colonel Miller now returned to the fort with his prisoners, having lost many brave men on the field, and had several of his officers wounded. As he retired, the enemy rallied and pressed hard on his rear, till he arrived near the breastwork. The manner in which this retreat was conducted, deserves particular remark. When the object for which the detachment was sent against the batteries, had become complete—the artillerists killed and captured,—the cannon spiked, and the wheels of the carriages cut down, and the resolution formed to retreat, we were then in the woods, about a mile from the fort, and the Indians *almost around our flanks, pressing hard* their views to intercept our retreat; their left having been just reinforced by the party who were engaged in the sortie against colonel Boswell, under the command (it is supposed) of *Tecumseh*—thus situated, had the order to retreat been generally given, and generally known, half of the detachment could not have reached the fort; for, however brave and arduous were our troops, and however determined they were to execute the order of the general, yet they knew that they were fighting against about *four times* their numbers, and believed that they had accomplished every object of the general, to its fullest extent—is it not natural to conclude, that a general order to retreat from this very unequal conflict, would have produced precipitancy and some confusion? The *wounded*, and those who were rendered *weak*, from the energy necessary to be used, in a case *so extreme*, would have fallen a sacrifice to the tomahawk; but the order for a retreat was cautiously and wisely concealed from the troops generally—four positions were taken in the retreat, our troops firing as the *savages pressed on*; and when the *weak* and *wounded* got up, a second position was taken, and the general retreat not known until the fourth position was formed at the line of the woods, about two hundred yards from the fort. Thus the detachment, including the *weak* and *wounded*, were saved, only one or two being killed on the retreat—too much praise cannot be given to colonel Miller.

The operations on the north side of the river will now claim our attention. The detachment under Dudley effected a landing in tolerable good order, and were immediately marched for their destined object—no specific orders were given by the colonel; even his majors were left to conjecture the object of the enterprise.—After marching some distance, the troops were formed into three columns. The distance to the batteries of the enemy was about two miles. When the detachment arrived within half a mile of the batteries, major Shelby, who commanded the left, was ordered, on the suggestion of captain Hamilton, to march the left forward as expeditiously as possible, till its rear passed the head of the other two columns, and then wheel to the right and march towards the river. The batteries were thus to be surrounded; but while the other columns were still several hundred yards from the batteries, they raised the Indian yell, and charged upon them at full speed, and carried them without the loss of a man, having frightened off

the few artillerists who were serving them, almost without knowing by whom they were assailed. The most complete success was thus achieved as respected the great object of the enterprise. The British flag was cut down, and the shouts of the garrison announced their joy at this consummation of their wishes. General Harrison was standing on the grand battery next the river, and now called to the men, and made signs to them to retreat to their boats—but all in vain—they remained at the batteries for some time, viewing the curiosities of the place, and without destroying the carriages, magazines, or even spiking all of the cannon. The general offered a reward to any person who would cross the river and order them to retreat. Lieutenant Campbell undertook to perform this service, but before he could get over, the fate of the detachment was decided—about the time the batteries were taken, a body of Indians lying in ambush, had fired on a party of spies, under captain Combs, who had marched down on the left of major Shelby. Presently colonel Dudley gave orders to reinforce the spies, and the greater part of the right and centre columns rushed into the woods, in confusion, to fight the Indians—whom they routed and pursued near two miles from the batteries. The left column remained in possession of the ground, till the fugitive artillerists returned with a reinforcement from the main British camp, and attacked them. Some of them were made prisoners at the batteries; others fled to their boats; and a part who were rallied by the exertions of their major, were marched by him to the aid of colonel Dudley—but the main surrender was in the woods, to the left of the batteries; and some made their escape to Defiance. The Indians had also been reinforced, and the confusion in which major Shelby found the men under Dudley, was so great as to amount to a cessation of resistance, while the savages skulking around them, continued the work of destruction in safety. At last a retreat commenced in disorder, but the greater part of them were either captured by the Indians, or surrendered to the British. Colonel Dudley, after being wounded, was overtaken and despatched with the tomahawk. The number of those who escaped, and got into the fort, from the whole detachment, was considerably below two hundred. (The number is believed to be 192.) When the approach of the detachment under Dudley was reported to Proctor, he supposed it to be the main force of the American army; from which he was apprehensive he might sustain a total defeat: he, therefore, recalled a large portion of his troops from the opposite shore. They did not arrive in time, however, to partake in the contest on the north side. Tecumseh was among them. The prisoners were taken down to head quarters, put into the fort Miami, and many of them tomahawked by the Indians, and kept there until dark; during which time, the wounded experienced the most excruciating torments. They were taken into the British boats, and carried down the river to the brig *Hunter*, and a schooner, where several hundred of them were stowed away in the hold of the brig, and kept there for two days.

and nights. They were finally liberated on parole, and landed at the mouth of Huron river, below the Sandusky bay. After the termination of the fighting, on the 5th, nothing more occurred worthy of notice, while the enemy continued the siege. Immediately after the firing had ceased on that day, general Proctor sent major Chambers to demand the surrender of the fort. Harrison replied to the proposition, that he considered it an insult, and requested that it might not be repeated. The demand was made as a finesse, to prevent us from molesting him in the retreat which he meditated. General Proctor was alarmed by the intelligence of the capture of fort George—he viewed his situation as hazardous, and his Indians began to desert. Proctor now saw, that if he was delayed much longer, he would probably be captured, and leave Upper Canada unprotected, as reinforcements were not to be expected, while the American arms were successful below. He, therefore, made his arrangements to retreat as soon as possible—during the night of the 8th, a considerable stir was apparent in his camp; early next morning his troops were seen to be moving off. Major Chambers had promised, on the part of general Proctor, to furnish us with a list of the prisoners in his possession; but he retreated with too much precipitation to comply. The whole force of the enemy at the siege, was about 600 regulars, 800 Canadian militia, and 1800 Indians. The force in the fort did not much exceed 1200, and perhaps not more than 1000 effectives, who had to defend a fortification large enough for three times that number. On the battle ground, on the north side of the river, 45 bodies were found, among them was colonel Dudley, who was very much cut to pieces; besides these, there were a few found in other places, which, with those massacred at the old fort, would make the number killed about 70. The Indians had also kept between 30 and 40 prisoners. In the two sorties from the fort, and in the fort during the siege, our loss was 81 killed, and 189 wounded—an unusual number of the wounded died, in consequence of exposure during the siege; and from the same cause, a considerable degree of sickness began to prevail among the troops. The loss of the British and Indians could not be ascertained; but it was undoubtedly very severe.

On the morning of the 21st of July, our picket guard, consisting of a corporal and ten men, was sent up the point about two or three hundred yards, at the east corner of the fort, where it was soon surprised by the Indians, and seven of them killed and captured. This was the commencement of the second siege, and the first item we had of the enemy being on our borders; though on the 20th, a party was sent down towards the lake by land, and another in boats, but all returned without making any discovery, except hearing the firing of some guns at Malden. They encamped with a force of about 5,000 near the old fort Miami, until the 25th, when they removed on the southeast side of the river, and the 28th they moved off, and abandoned the siege. The Indians





surrounded the fort, and kept up an occasional fire, but without effect. They raised no batteries, nor fired any cannon—the investment was only distinguished by a sham battle, which commenced on the Sandusky road, about a mile from the fort; and the firing lasted about half an hour, when they retreated towards head quarters.

It was thought a storm of our works was the object of general Proctor, in his second visit to the fort; but on gaining information from the prisoners, taken on the morning of the 21st, that our force was much greater than he expected, that object was abandoned for the enterprise against captain Croghan at lower Sandusky. From the first to the fifth of May, there were between 5 and 600 cannon balls and bombs fired from the British batteries each day. The number killed in the fort, was ten with cannon balls and bombs, and that number with small arms. During the siege, there were three or four men posted on the top of the traverses—these men, as soon as they saw the smoke gushing from the mouth of the enemies cannon, would *cry out shot!!* or *bomb!!* as the case might be. This arrangement was a wise one, for it saved the lives of many; by it, the garrison were enabled to fall in the trenches, before the shot reached the fort. So frequent did we hear the word *shot!!!* that the motion of the men might be very well said to resemble that of a sawyer, bobbing up and down by the force of the current. We were much annoyed by the falling of bomb shells, which made it necessary to burrow; but these were very damp and unwholesome; indeed, we were kept out of the water, while in many of them, by laying our blankets on a floor of poles and bark. The number killed in the two sorties on the south side of the river and in the fort, has been estimated at 81, and 189 wounded; this number, I am induced to believe, is too small by at least 40 or 50 in killed, and an equal proportion in wounded. How many of the enemy were killed on the south side, it is impossible to say, as the enemy kept the ground; but our men were first rate shooters, and fought in open order, behind trees and stumps, logs, &c. and frequently within 60 or 80 steps of the enemy, and for a short time within about 30. And as they had been subject to the roar of cannon and small arms for eight days, with the sight of many killed and wounded; the first *fright* must have been over, if this latter is at all to be applied them—it is reasonable then to suppose that the enemy suffered much. The account given of the killed on the north, is believed to be too small. The detachment consisted of 880; of which number, 500, or thereabouts, were paroled and sent to Kentucky; 192 made their escape to fort Meigs, 15 to Defiance, and 30 were taken off by the Indians, which leaves the number of killed about 143. S.

ART. XV.—*The Velocipede or Draisena.*

[From a London paper.]

THIS truly original machine was the invention of baron Charles De Draï, master of the woods and forests of H. R. H. the

grand duke of Baden. The account given by the inventor, of its nature and properties, is—

1. That on a well-maintained post-road, it will travel up hill as fast as an active man can walk.

2. On a plain, even after a heavy rain, it will go six or seven miles an hour, which is as swift as a courier.

3. When roads are dry and firm, it runs on a plain at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour, which is equal to a horse's gallop.

4. On a descent, it equals a horse at full speed.

Its theory is founded on the application of a wheel to the action of a man in walking.

With respect to the economy of power, this invention may be compared to that very ancient one of carriages. As a horse draws, in a well constructed carriage, both the carriage and its load much easier than he could carry the load alone on his back; so a man conducts, by means of the velocipede, his body easier than if he had its whole weight to support on his feet. It is equally incontestable, that the velocipede, as it makes but one impression, or rut, may always be directed on the best part of a road. On a hard road, the rapidity of the velocipede resembles that of an expert skater; as the principles of the two motions are the same. In truth, it runs a considerable distance while the rider is inactive, and with the same rapidity as when his feet are in motion: and in a descent, it will beat the best horses in a great distance, without being exposed to the risks incidental to them, as it is guided by the mere gradual motion of the fingers, and may be instantly stopped by the feet.

It consists of two wheels, one behind the other, connected by a perch, on which a saddle is placed, for the seat of the traveller. The front wheel is made to turn on a pivot. On a cushion in front, the fore-arm is rested; and by this means the instrument and the traveller are kept in equilibrio.

Its Management.—The traveller having placed himself in the position represented in the cut, his elbows extended, and his body inclined a little forward, must place his arms on the cushion, and preserve his equilibrium by pressing lightly on that side which appears to be rising. The rudder (if it may be so called) must be held by both hands, which are not to rest on the cushion, that they may be at full liberty, being as essential to the conduct of the machine, as the arms are to the maintenance of the balance of it (attention will soon produce sufficient dexterity for this purpose); then placing the feet lightly on the ground, long but very slow steps are to be taken, in a right line, at first; taking care to avoid turning the toes out, lest the heels should come in contact with the hind wheel. It is only after having acquired dexterity in the equilibrium and direction of the velocipede, that the attempt to increase the motion of the feet, or to keep them elevated while it is in rapid motion, ought to be attempted.

The saddle may be raised or lowered, as well as the cushion, at pleasure; and thus suited to the height of various persons.

The inventor proposes to construct them to carry two persons; and to be impelled by each alternately, or by both at once; and also with three or four wheels, with a seat for a lady: besides the application of a parasol or umbrella, he also proposes to avail himself of a sail, with a favourable wind.

The instrument appears to have satisfied a desideratum in mechanics; all former attempts have failed, upon the known principle that power is obtainable only at the expense of velocity. But the impelling principle is totally different from all others: it is not derived from the body of the machine, but from a resistance operating externally, and in a manner the most conformable to nature—the resistance of the feet upon the ground. The body is carried and supported, as it were, by two skates, while the impulse is given by the alternate motion of both legs.

The Germans call this machine “Drais Laufmashin” and the French “Draisena.” Under the direction of baron Drais, a carriage was some years since constructed to go without horses, but as it required two servants to work it, and was a very complicated piece of workmanship, besides being heavy and expensive, the baron, after having brought it to some degree of perfection, relinquished the design altogether in favour of the present machine. It is stated that a person well practised, can travel eight, nine, and even ten miles an hour, on good and level ground.

ART. XVI.—*Accum's 'Chemical Amusements.'*

[From the British Critic.]

THE experiments in this little volume amount to an hundred and sixty, of which we shall transcribe one or two as a specimen of the author's plan. We begin with No. 1, which has for its object, ‘To cause water to boil by the application of cold, and to cease to boil by the application of heat.’

‘Half fill a Florence flask with water; place it over the lamp furnace, and let it boil briskly for a few minutes; then cork the mouth of the phial as expeditiously as possible, and tie a slip of moist bladder over the cork to exclude the air. The water, on being now removed from the lamp, will keep boiling, and when the ebullition ceases, the boiling may be renewed by wrapping round the empty or upper part of the flask a cloth wetted with cold water, or by gradually pouring cold water upon the flask; but if hot water be applied to the flask the boiling instantly ceases. In this manner the ebullition may be renewed and again made to cease alternately by the mere application of hot and cold water.’

‘*Rationale.*—This experiment shows that the boiling point of liquids is influenced by the pressure on the surface of the boiling liquid. When the pressure is diminished, liquids boil at a lower temperature; but when the pressure is increased they require a higher temperature to produce the phenomena (why plural?) of ebullition. In this experiment part of the water during the boil-

ing becomes converted into steam, which expels the air out of the vessel. This steam is prevented from escaping by corking the flask: on applying a cloth wetted with cold water upon the upper part of the body of the flask, a portion of steam becomes condensed, a partial vacuum is formed, and the pressure upon the surface of the water becomes diminished; therefore the water begins to boil again, though considerably cooled: for a less degree of heat is now necessary to cause a part of it to be converted into steam. But in pouring hot water upon the vessel, an increase of temperature is again effected, the steam within the flask becomes more expanded, and affords the same pressure as the air would do; the water therefore ceases to boil, because its temperature is insufficient to suffer the formation of steam bubbles to form, or, what is the same, to suffer the phenomena of ebullition to take place.—Water under the usual pressure of the atmosphere boils at 212° , but when the pressure is withdrawn to a great extent, it boils at 181° ; if, on the contrary, water be heated under an increased pressure, its temperature may be much raised. In a metallic vessel water has been heated even to 400° , and has still remained in the liquid form. Hence, under an entire absence of pressure every liquid evaporates. Even quicksilver, there is reason to believe, passes into vapour in the Torricellian vacuum.'

The above experiment illustrates a principle of very extensive application in chemical inquiries—the relation between pressure and cohesion in fluid substances: the one which we are about to transcribe, No. 7. affords an example of the varying relations which subsist between temperature and fluidity. It is entitled 'To freeze water in the midst of summer, without the application of ice.'

'Take eleven drachms of nitrate of ammonia, ten of nitrate of potash, and sixteen of sulphate of soda; reduce each of these salts separately to a fine powder, and mix them gradually in a glass, or better in a thin metal vessel, with five ounces of water (the capacity of the vessel should be just large enough to hold the materials) the result will be, that as the salts dissolve, cold will be produced, and a thermometer immersed in the mixture will sink at or below freezing. A little water in a test-tube, when immersed in the mixture during its solution, becomes frozen in about ten minutes.'

'*Rationale.*—This experiment shows that chemical action is always attended with a change of temperature, that when bodies chemically combine, they undergo a change of temperature. For in all bodies there exists a certain quantity of caloric, or matter of heat, and when any change takes place in the chemical constitution of the body, its power of retaining that portion of caloric is also changed. During these changes heat is either given out or absorbed, and this increase or diminution of temperature becomes obvious to our senses, and may be measured by the thermometer. In this experiment, therefore, the cold is to be ascribed to the absorption of caloric, which attends the rapid liquification of the

salts, from their mutual chemical action; the water of crystallization, which is in a previous state of combination with the salt, quickly passes from the solid to the fluid state; it robs the surrounding bodies of caloric; and thus the portion of water immersed into the freezing mixture, losing its caloric, becomes frozen. The cold is, therefore, ultimately to be referred to the enlargement of capacity of the bodies for heat, consequent on that change of form: the cold being greater, as the capacity of the materials for heat is more enlarged. From these observations it follows that the greatest cold will be obtained from the mixture of those substances which act mutually so as to pass most quickly into the fluid state, and which in that transition have their capacities most enlarged. Hence by far the most powerful frigorific substances are those in which one of the materials is snow or powdered ice, and the other, either an acid or an alkali, or a neutral salt, or a mixture of some of these. Two substances that have been the longest known, and are familiar to every body, are common salt and snow, and nitrous acid and snow. Crystallized muriate lime deserves particular attention, as being the cheapest and most useful frigorific material hitherto known, and of extreme energy. When this salt and snow, or powdered ice are mixed together, the cold produced is very intense, and by means of it quicksilver may be frozen.'

There is no doubt but that the true secret of creating cold is to enlarge the capacity of bodies, by passing them from the solid into the fluid, and from the fluid into the gaseous form; it being well ascertained that these transitions are accompanied by a vast absorption of caloric. The freezing apparatus invented by Mr. Leslie, of Edinburgh, is constructed upon that principle; and the use of it proceeds upon the law above referred to, and which has received the fullest confirmation from a variety of experiments, namely, that in proportion as pressure is withdrawn, water passes more readily into a state of vapour: and as this change is attended with an absorption of caloric, all surrounding bodies will be reduced in their temperature, and ultimately (such as are conductors of heat) brought to the freezing point. Thus, a basin of water placed under the receiver of an air-pump, will be frozen by the simple process of exhausting that receiver, if the operation shall be assisted by the presence of some substance having a strong affinity for water to absorb the vapour as it is formed in the apparatus.

There are a great many experiments recorded and described in this duodecimo, of a more captivating kind than those we have brought forward. We have 'wells of fire,' 'red flames,' 'yellow flames,' 'orange flames,' and 'emerald-green flames;' and we have fulminations and detonations, sparks and flashes of all degrees, and smells, and colours; in short, we have some small portion of chemical quackery. As sober reasoning chemistry was compared above to practical morality, deriving its best rules from its best use, so this explosive kind of science may be likened unto a certain spe-

cies of false religion, which, in a similar way, delights much in noise and show, and crackers and detonations, and flames of all colours, and strange announcements, and unexpected results, and marvels of all kinds, calculated especially, by these marks and tokens, *ad vulgus captandum*. We say not, however, that Mr. Accum is a methodist in chemistry; on the contrary, he keeps every thing in place; crackers where crackers should be: and the consequence is, that no man has deserved more highly of the public, in the several departments of his profession, than the author of the performance now before us, which we most cordially recommend to their further notice and patronage.

ART. XVII.—*Extract from Dr. Caldwell's Memoirs of the Life of General Greene.*

[This work, on the eve of issuing from the press, will doubtless possess a high degree of interest. We owe to the politeness of the author, the permission to make the following extract.]

BATTLE OF RAMSAOUR'S MILL.

EQUALLY, perhaps, unknown, to most of the inhabitants, and singularly neglected in the history of our country, is another very gallant partisan adventure, achieved on the 22d of June, 1780. Neither American regulars, nor British soldiers having any concern in this spirited affair, it was fought entirely by raw militia-men, of the whig and tory parties.

About twelve hundred of the latter, having assembled under the command of colonel Moore, encamped in a strong position at Ramsaour's mill, a few miles westward from the Catawba river, and in the vicinity of the line which separates North from South Carolina. In which of the two states the encampment was situated, is not at present distinctly recollected, although the writer of this narrative has been frequently on the spot.

In addition to rapine, and the production of general distress, a favourite object of this party was to overawe and weaken the adjacent country, by capturing and carrying within the British lines, a number of its most influential inhabitants. Besides being thus prevented from taking a lead in active measures of resistance, these were to be held as hostages for the good conduct and neutrality of their friends.

To defeat the mischievous purposes of this party, and to dislodge them from their strong hold, the most spirited of the whigs from Iredell, a neighbouring county, assembled to the amount of three hundred men, under the command of colonel Locke. These consisted principally of foot; but in part, of a small corps of mounted infantry, armed with rifles, pistols, and sabres, led by captain Falls, an officer of peculiar gallantry and worth.

This hasty levy of soldiers, presented a spectacle eminently interesting. They were fresh from their homes, their private habits unbroken, no discipline or concert of action established among them, and all their domestic feelings clinging around their hearts.

They were, in the true sense of the expression, a band of friends and neighbours, being all from the same settlement, and perfectly known to each other in private life. In the whole party there was not an individual who had not repeatedly united with the others, in rural sport and social enjoyment. As citizens, they were all of the same rank, and all respectable. They were masters of the soil they had assembled to defend.

Of this corps of patriots, the military prowess was entirely untried; not one of them, with the exception of captain Falls, having ever confronted an enemy in the field. Their only warlike acquirement was great expertness and skill in the use of the rifle. In that qualification they had few superiors.

Being all dressed in their common apparel, they exhibited no uniformity of appearance. To remedy this, and to distinguish them from the tories, who were known to be dressed in the same way, they fastened over the crowns of their hats, from back to front, descending to the rims on each side, strips of white paper, about two inches broad. Each one brought to the place of rendezvous his own rifle, fifty rounds of powder and ball, a week's provision, and a light blanket. That they might be perfectly unencumbered, neither baggage-wagon nor pack-horse was attached to the party.

Thus accoutred, eager for battle, and panting for glory, without waiting for a considerable force that was assembling in Rowan, a neighbouring county, under general Rutherford, to join them, they moved in haste and silence towards the scene of action.

The second day's march brought them into the immediate vicinity of their object. They encamped for the night, determined to strike, and hoping to surprise the enemy in the morning. But in this they were disappointed.

On advancing to the attack, about break of day, they found the foe on the alert, and ready to receive them. They, therefore, resolved to wait until it should be completely light, that the aim of their rifles might be the more deadly.

The morning opening, disclosed to them a preparation for defence and resistance, much more formidable than they had expected to find. The enemy were posted on top of a hill covered with timber, which afforded them a shelter. Their flanks were protected on one side by a mill-dam, and on the other by a swamp, a small stream of water flowing in the rear. In front of their encampment was erected, of stakes and brush-wood, a breastwork so compact, as to be proof against small arms, and to impede, in a great measure, the operation of cavalry. A strong detachment of the foe was stationed in advance of the breastwork, armed with rifles, and concealed behind trees.

At first sight, this array of men and means was somewhat appalling. But the Rubicon was passed. Retreat would be ruin, accompanied with disgrace. Battle might also be ruinous, but could

not be dishonourable. Without hesitation, therefore, the latter was resolved on.

At his own request, captain Falls with his mounted infantry led the attack. When at the distance of about eighty paces, he received the fire of the enemy's advance. Returning this with considerable effect, he rushed sword in hand into the midst of them, threw them into confusion, and forced them to fall back. Pressing his fortune with too much ardour, he received a ball through his breast, and fell dead from his horse.

His party, however, undismayed by the loss of their leader, continued the action with great gallantry, until the foot advanced to their support, when the enemy was driven behind his breastwork.

Here ensued a most murderous conflict. The whigs having so far levelled the obstruction as to render it passable, rushed over it, mingled with the enemy, and in many instances, grappled with them man to man. Every instrument and mean of death was now resorted to. The bullet, the sword, the rifle-but, and even the hatchet, with which some were provided, were abundantly employed. Rarely in any case, has blood been more inexorably, or by the same number of combatants, more prodigally shed.

For a time the issue was doubtful. Pressed by superior numbers, the whigs were once compelled to give ground; some of them retreating across the breastwork. But resolutely bent on victory or death, they returned to the charge with such fierce impetuosity, and decisive effect, as bore down all resistance.

The tories broke and fled in confusion, the whigs for some distance hanging on their rear, with terrible slaughter.

Thus terminated an affair in which so many gallant spirits made their first, and too many of them, alas! their last essay in arms. In the course of it the whigs performed prodigies; and the royalists manifested a degree of resolution and valour worthy of a better cause.

The latter lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, upwards of six hundred men. The prisoners and wounded were paroled, and liberated on the field of battle.

The *numerical* loss of the former was exceedingly heavy, nearly half of them being killed or wounded. But the *actual* loss, which consisted in the character, rather than the number of those that fell, was incalculable. On that fatal day, some of the choicest blood of the south was heroically offered on the altar of freedom.

The death of captain Falls, in particular, was deeply lamented. In the ranks of his country he did not leave behind him a purer patriot, or a more gallant soldier.

His son, a youth of fourteen, had accompanied him to battle. When the captain fell, this high minded stripling, moved by an instinctive impulse of affection, sprang from his horse to embrace the body, and protect it from insult. One of the enemy, believed to be the same that shot captain Falls, advancing with a view to plunder the corpse, the son, suddenly snatching the sword of the

deceased, plunged it into the bosom of the marauder, and thus at once punished audacity, and nobly revenged his father's death.

So deadly was the aim of the tory riflemen, at the commencement of the action, before the smoke of their own fire had obstructed their view, that many of them placed their balls in the lower end of the strips of paper, which the whigs wore over the crowns of their hats. Every shot of this description, passing through the brain, was instantly fatal.

*Address from the Pennsylvania Society
for the Abolition of Slavery, &c.*

THE Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, for the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race, has been impelled by urgent considerations to lay the following representation before the public.

The Society originated in a voluntary association, formed shortly after the passage of the Act of March 1st, 1780, for the gradual abolition of slavery. A law which, although it did not pursue the full development of natural rights set forth in our State constitution, has the merit of being the first legislative procedure in any nation, in favour of the unfortunate African, and of having laid a foundation on which reason, humanity and justice have since raised some valuable superstructures.

Soon after this law was passed, it was perceived that its moderate and humane provisions would often be evaded—that the humble efforts of the unassisted black, to obtain the freedom to which he might be entitled, would too frequently fail and that the law would probably remain the empty ornament of our code, without yielding even the imperfect benefits it intended.

It is in all cases a duty on citizens to enforce the laws of their country. If a law is inexpedient it should be repealed; but while it retains the character, it ought to be accompanied by the powers of a national rule of action.

The Association, confining itself to this duty, had the satisfaction, as its principles became known, to find its numbers increase.

The Legislature approved the course it pursued, and in the year 1789 an act was passed to incorporate it by the title it now bears.

The venerable name of Franklin would not have been found in the list of its presidents, had not its principles possessed that tendency to public good which his superior mind enabled him so well to perceive, and his benevolent heart always led him to promote.

With his name we unite those of James Pemberton, Benjamin Rush and Caspar Wistar, who successively occupied the same office, of all of whom it is barely justice to say that they would not have consented to fill a station inconsistent with the best interests of humanity.

The first object enumerated in the corporate title was to promote the abolition of slavery, to convince the slaveholder of the injustice of this unnatural species of property which seems now to be generally reprobated in the abstract, but which in some other states has become practically interwoven in their systems.

The climate and the soil; the moral, religious and political habits of Pennsylvania refute all pretence for the continuance of it among us. Public opinion slowly advancing has gradually reduced the number of our slaves, and the co-operation of time will soon efface the stain entirely.

The second object was to procure the freedom of those who were unlawfully held in bondage. In this respect the efforts of the Society were expensive and laborious, and it is believed that no instance of unjust detention within the sphere of their powers came to their knowledge, without being made a subject of their care. This is at present chiefly confined to the endeavour to suppress the illegal and unjust attempts of a dishonourable class of men, who sometimes violently seize, or under false pretences arrest, by colour of law, free persons resident among us, and who are

often detected in carrying through our state those whom they have purchased or stolen elsewhere, for the purpose of sale in the southern parts of the Union.

The third object, the improvement of the condition of the African race is of extensive and increasing concern.

The descendants of those who were brought into our country by force, and compelled to constant labour, with little attention to the cultivation of their minds, have a just claim upon us for instruction and assistance, to endeavour to render them more capable of encountering the difficulties of ignorance and poverty, and of becoming useful citizens.

One of the best modes of attaining this desirable object, at present, seems to be to attend to the education of their children. For this purpose schools have been instituted, and pains have been taken to induce the parents and friends to send their children to receive instruction.

But in relation to all these objects, and particularly the last, the Society finds itself limited and restrained by inadequacy of funds. Were its means equal to its wishes, a general plan of competent education would be adopted, by which it would be in the power of every parent of the coloured race to give his child an opportunity of acquiring the art of reading, writing, and primary arithmetic.

With this preparation it is proposed that the young men should be placed out to mechanic and agricultural employments, and it is hoped that on such a foundation they would be found able to support themselves, in a reputable and useful manner.

In pursuit of these three great objects many of the members of this Society have employed a great portion of their time, and individually incurred considerable expense; they have frequently met with opposition from the interested, the unfeeling and the uninformed; their intentions have been misinterpreted, their efforts resisted, and their characters traduced. Yet they have persevered, and conscious of the integrity of their motives and the obligations of their charter, they mean to persevere in promoting "the abolition of slavery" wherever it is found practicable; in "relieving free negroes unlawfully held "in bondage," wherever the fact

comes within the sphere of their corporate powers and the law will afford relief, and in "improving the condition of the "African race" by extending the means of instruction, promoting industry, encouraging those who are honest and laborious, and aiding when necessary in the punishment or coercion of those who are incorrigibly depraved.

This statement of our labors and our views, it is hoped will meet with the approbation of the community.

But the finances of our Society, originally slender, have been reduced by the necessity of constant disbursements. A call for pecuniary assistance is generally unwelcome, yet it is hoped that on those who may concur with us in thinking that the system we have pursued is eventually conducive to national benefit, the call will not be made in vain.

A committee appointed for the purpose will shortly wait on our fellow citizens, and those who are inclined, without further application, to transmit their donations to the treasurer, Thomas Shipley, will receive the thanks of the Society.

By order of the Society.

W. RAWLE, President.

Attest—B. WILLIAMS, Secretary.

Philadelphia, April 29, 1819.

RUSSIAN NOVEL.

[From *La Minerve Francaise*.]

Morpha, or Novogorod subdued. An historical tale translated from the Russian of M. de Karamzin by A. Saint Hyppolyte.

This tale is full of interest, and gives a curious account of the ancient manners of Russia; it has also the merit of presenting the picture of a people bravely struggling for their liberty, and opposing the energy of their enthusiasm against the stratagems of civilization and the advantage of military science. The author concludes by depicting the inhabitants of Novogorod, contented in submission and filling the air with their acclamations in favour of the prince who promises them, according to custom, peace, plenty and justice. The translator adds, in a note, that the race of Ivan is extinct and for several ages that of Romanoff occupies the throne. Despotism generally brings ruin on those who establish it, and we might say of them, in the words of the poet, 'Sic vos non vobis,' &c.

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